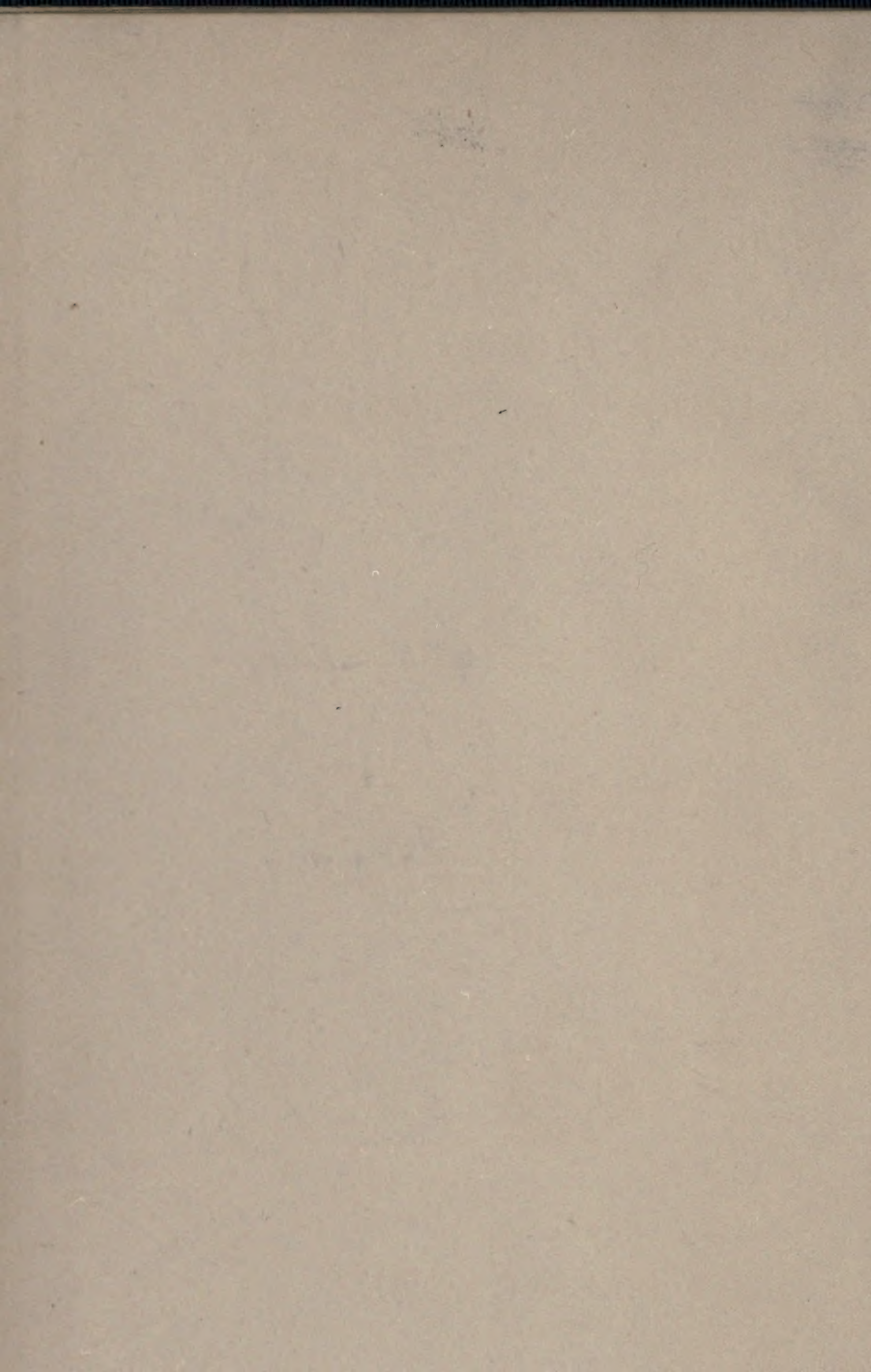


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01313378 0



~~_____~~
~~_____~~

DANTE AND THE ENGLISH POETS FROM CHAUCER TO TENNYSON

BY

OSCAR KUHN

*Professor of Romance Languages in Wesleyan University
Author of "The German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania"*

"A great poem is a fountain forever overflowing with the waters of wisdom and delight; and after one person and one age have exhausted all its divine effluence, which their peculiar relations enable them to share, another and yet another succeeds, and new relations are ever developed, the source of an unforeseen and an unconceived delight."—SHELLEY, *A Defense of Poetry*.



375941
26.2.40

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

1904

PQ
4385
G7K8

Copyright, 1904

BY

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

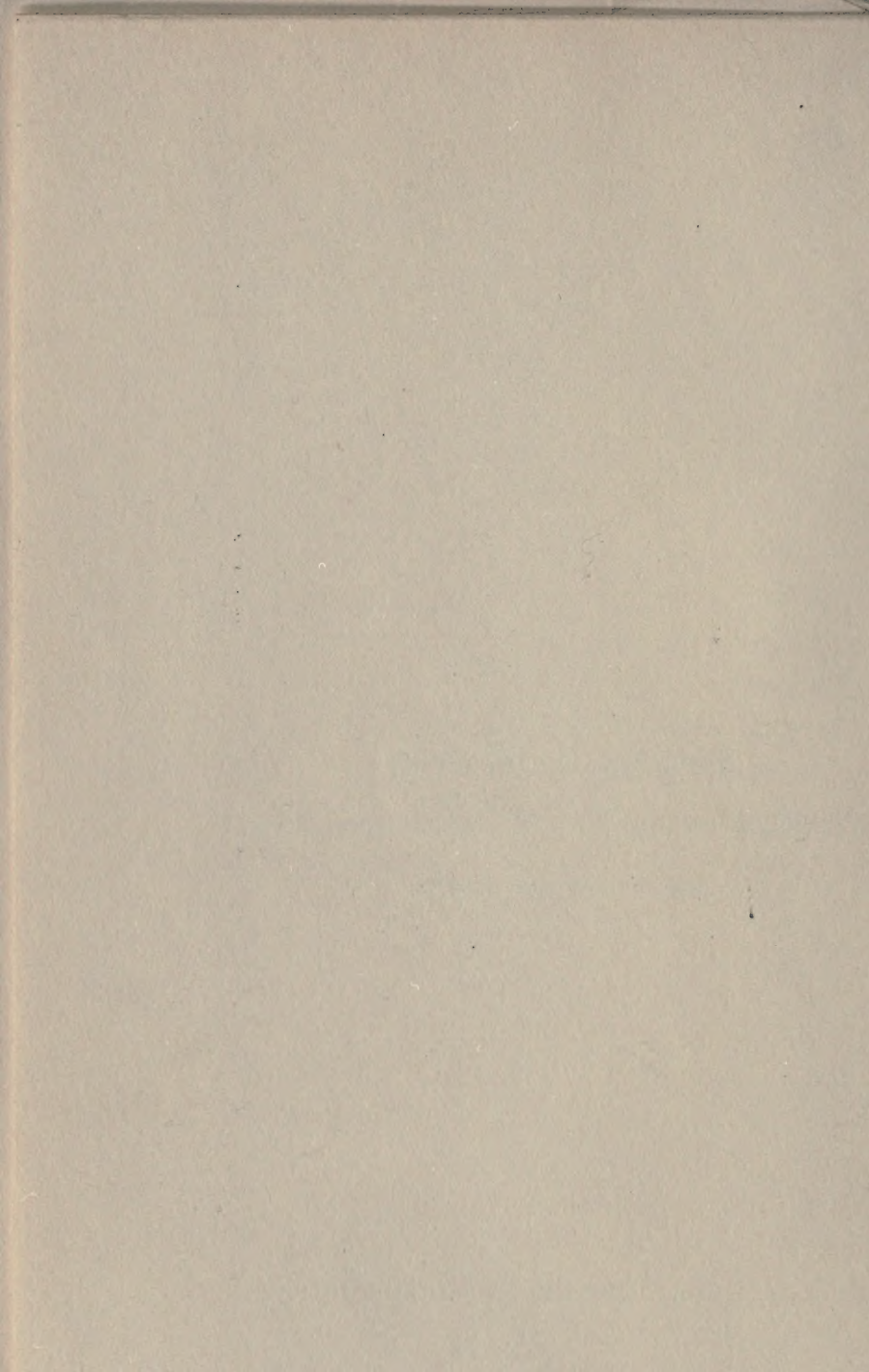
Published April, 1904

TO

Professor A. B. Faust

A GENUINE SCHOLAR, A COURTEOUS GENTLEMAN

AND A FAITHFUL FRIEND



PREFACE.

FOR many years I have found a pleasant diversion from the round of routine duties in gathering together the material which forms the subject of this book. It is with the thought that it may interest others that it is now published. Part of this material appeared some years since in *Modern Language Notes*. For the meagre bibliography of the subject (mostly in the form of articles, notes, correspondence, and other ephemeral or periodical literature), see Koch's *Catalogue of the Dante Collection in Cornell University*, and Betz's *La Littérature Comparée*.

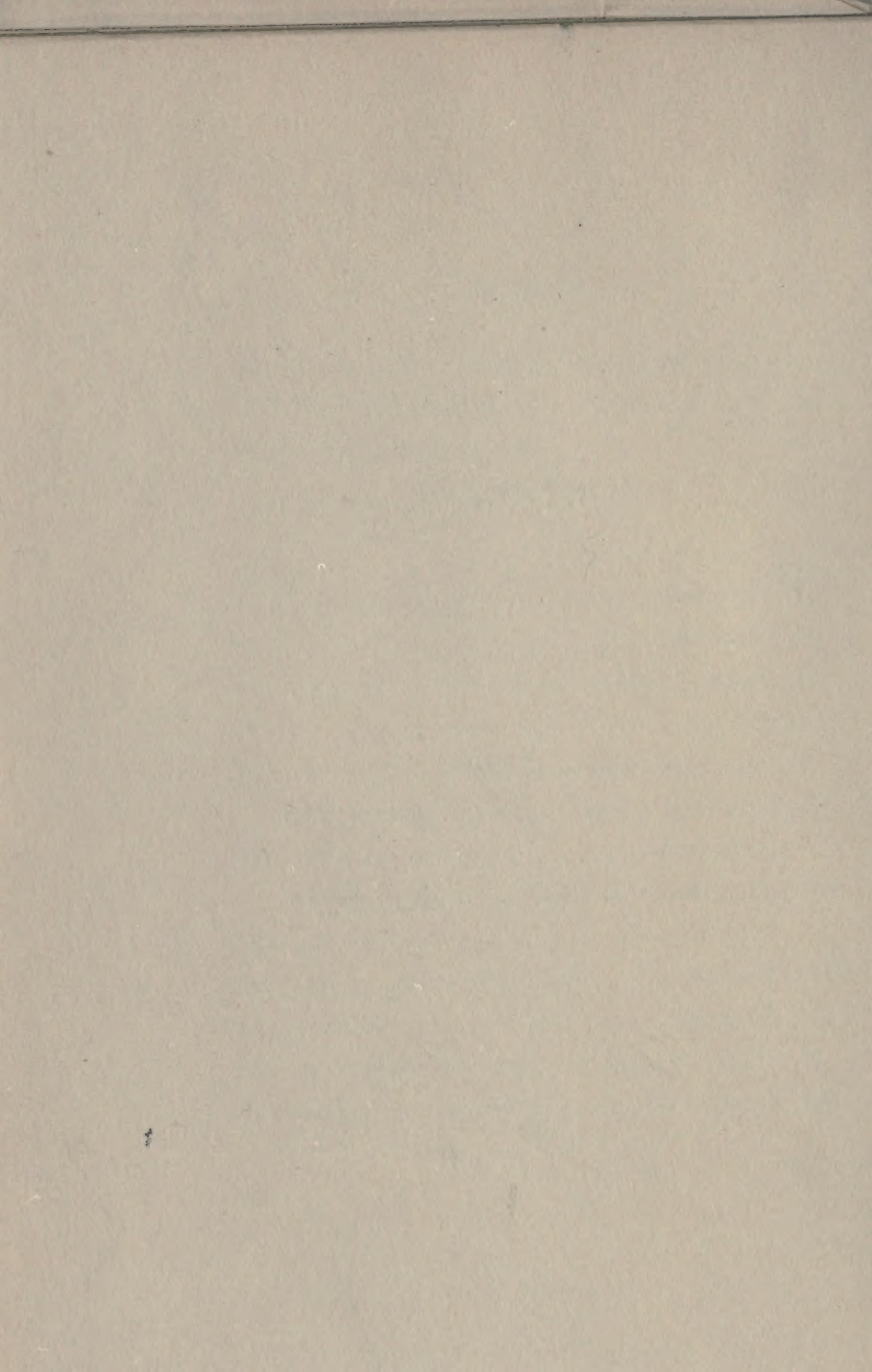
I desire to express my thanks to the authorities of the Harvard University Library, whose liberality in the loaning of

books extends the usefulness of that institution far beyond the limits of its own academic constituency.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., April, 1904.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.....	I
II. CHAUCER.....	16
III. FROM CHAUCER TO MILTON.....	40
IV. MILTON.....	79
V. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.....	105
VI. THE DANTE REVIVAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	117
VII. THE POETS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	133
VIII. BYRON.....	150
IX. SHELLEY.. ..	173
X. MATTHEW ARNOLD AND ROSSETTI.....	198
XI. BROWNING AND TENNYSON.....	218



DANTE AND THE ENGLISH POETS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

ENGLISH literature, as much as, if not more than, any other, has been shaped by many and varied influences. In its early formative period it added to its Teutonic basis those wide-reaching streams of mediæval literature,—epic, didactic, and chivalrous,—which found chief expression through the medium of Old French; in the movement of the Renaissance it was permeated with the newly revived classic spirit which, beginning in Italy, gradually spread over all western Europe; while in modern times the cosmopolitan spirit has opened up to it the literary treasures of every other land. Of course the

main channels through which these various streams of influence have produced their effect are the great writers,—in spite of the fact that often those of second and third rank have exerted an influence disproportionate to their merit.

It would be of extreme value for the proper understanding of English literature, if the influence upon it of all the great foreign writers could be investigated and summarized by specialists,—not merely from a philological or scientific point of view, but with a sympathetic feeling for the æsthetic and psychological processes involved in the making of literature. Such an undertaking would naturally be fraught with great difficulties, and would need the coöperation of many minds; and yet if some such plan were carried out in the case of Homer, Vergil, Cervantes, Tasso, Petrarch, Ariosto, Molière, Goethe, and others, the student of comparative literature would have to

hand the material which now lies scattered over a wide field.

The present discussion of the influence of Dante on English poetry is a contribution toward this end.

In studying this question, we must look for evidence of Dante's influence on the English poets in the following forms: direct mention; imitation of the outer form of his works; literal translation or paraphrasing of certain passages; repetition of thought or sentiment; adaptation or use of metaphor or figure; and lastly, the effect on life and character of his moral teaching.

In regard to the first of these phases of Dante's influence, no preliminary remarks need to be made. In all the others, however, we must be constantly on our guard against undue emphasis of mere resemblances. Thus in regard to the outer form of the *Divine Comedy*, we know that Dante in adopting a visionary journey

through the supernatural world only followed a custom almost universal in and before his time, in the teaching of religious truth. It is idle to say he found his prototype in the sixth book of Vergil's *Æneid*, in the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, in the Voyage of St. Brandan, in the *Songe d'Enfer* of Raoul d'Houdan, or in the Visions of St. Paul, Tundal, and Alberico.¹ All these offer certain striking resemblances to the Divine Comedy, but as Signor D'Ancona says: "Fossero anche maggiori e più strette le corrispondenze, non diremo che, più che da altra, da questa leggenda (Vision of Alberico) . . . abbia tolto Dante forme ed elementi al suo poema. Tutte le notate visioni sono anelli di una gran catena che risale a tempi antichissimi: e, fors'

¹ For Dante's predecessors in the field of vision literature see D'Ancona, *I Precursori di Dante*; Ozanam, *Des Sources poétiques de la Divine Comédie*, in vol. V. of his *Œuvres Complètes*; and Marcus Dods, *The Forerunners of Dante*.

anche, Dante potè ignorare alcuno di questi non sapidi frutti della letteratura claustrale; ma ben conosceva egli, senz' altro, come la coscienza e l'immaginazione dei suoi coetanei fosser replete di così fatte rappresentazioni della vita futura." ¹

What is true of Dante's relations to his predecessors is surely as true of the relation of his successors to him. In the various attempts to trace his influence based on the use of dreams, descents to hell, or allegorical representations, we have but little real proof, almost all resemblances in such cases being capable of explanation by means of mediæval conventionalities.

¹ D'Ancona, I Precursori di Dante, p. 67; cf. also p. 97: "Argomento di leggenda nei devoti racconti: tema letterario ai poeti: spettacolo nei popolari ritrovi: canto giullaresco nelle piazze e nei trivi: dipinto in sulle mura delle chiese e dei cimiteri, la *Divina Commedia*, era già, dunque, in embrione e in abbozzo, prima che la mano di Dante le desse forma immortale nel suo poema."

6 DANTE AND THE ENGLISH POETS.

The most obvious method of studying the influence of one poet on another is by means of parallels—that is, resemblances in figures and metaphors, reminiscences of thought, episodes or incidents, or even imitation of characteristic words and phrases.

With the increased attention given to the study of comparative literature in our colleges and universities this *chasse aux parallèles*, as it has sometimes been cynically called, has come to occupy more and more the attention of investigators. Unfortunately the extravagance and the lack of critical impartiality on the part of some investigators has brought the whole method somewhat into disrepute.

The subject of parallels is indeed a delicate one, and to be treated aright needs not only good sense, but a wide field of knowledge on the part of the investigator. Similarity of thought or even of

expression does not necessarily presuppose direct borrowing of one poet from another. To say nothing of natural coincidences, the whole period of the Middle Ages is full of a widely diffused *materia poetica*, if I may be allowed the expression, consisting of constantly repeated thoughts and discussions, commonplaces of theology, philosophy, and social theories. It is often impossible to trace the ultimate source of these things: they come floating down the stream of literature from antiquity, from the Greek and Latin and Biblical writers, from the Church Fathers, or from the vast body of anonymous literature and oral tradition,—either indigenous to western Europe or imported by trader, crusader, or pilgrim from the lands of the Orient. As examples of these commonplaces, we may take the universal satire of women, the variations of fortune, the influence of the stars, the doctrine of

true nobility, and the various reflection on virtues and vices.

The same thing is true of certain symbols and figures. One of the most beautiful and apparently most characteristic of Dante's figures is that of snow

in alpe senza vento,¹

yet we find the same figure in Cavalcanti;² while the analogous of snow or ice melting in the sun, running with Homer,³ and running through the middle ages through Italian, French, and Middle High German, appears in countless forms in later literature.⁴

¹ Inferno, XIV, 30.

² In the sonnet *Beltà di donna di piacere*, cf. Homer (Il. XII, 278), ὥς τε νιφάδες, especially the words κοιμήσας δ' ἀνέμους.

³ ὥς δὲ χιῶν κατατήκετ' ἐν ακροπόρεσσιν.—Odyssey, XIX, 205.

Cf. Ovid:

Liquitur, ut glacies inserto saucia sole. (Met., II)

⁴ Cf. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* (1485):

Der zergienç, als in der sunnen snê.

Scores of similar examples could be given, many of which will occur in the course of the following discussion.

Now in discussing the question as to how much English poets have been influenced by Dante, it is not enough to quote passages which have a certain resemblance to him in thought or diction. We must be sure, first, that the poet in question could not have found the figure or thought under discussion in his own mind, and, second, that he could not have found it in another writer or in the general *materia*

Dante, Par. II, 106:

Or, come ai colpi degli caldi rai
Della neve riman nudo 'l soggetto.

Petrarch:

Nè giammai neve sotto al sol disparve,
Com' io sentii me tutto venir meno. (Canzone I.)

Ariosto:

come falda
Strugger di neve intempestiva suole
Ch' in loco aprico abbia scoperta il sole. (O. F., XIX, 29.)

Tasso:

Falda di bianca neve . . .
Così non si strugge a sole estivo. (Rim., I, Son. 86.)

poetica above referred to. As an example of this, take the lines of Chaucer

Aboute hir eyen two a purpre ring
Bi-trent, in sothfast tokninge of hir peyn
(Troilus and Criseyde, IV, 8)

which are a very close parallel to Nuova, XL: "dintorno loro si faceva colore purpureo, lo quale suole aver per alcuno martirio ch' altri receiveva

gli occhi son vinti . . .

.

E spesse volte piangon sì, ch' Amore
Li cerchia di corona di martiri."

And yet Chaucer undoubtedly got the idea from Boccaccio, who himself got it from Dante.¹

In discussions like the present we proceed in some such way as lawyers in law. Circumstantial evidence, of little value in itself, may by the establishment of close personal relations

¹ E intorno agli occhi un purpureo giro
Dava vero segno del suo martire. (Filostrato)
See Savj-Lopez, Romania, XXVII, 443.

come cogent. An exceedingly interesting set of parallels might be made out between Dante and Homer, and if we could believe (which of course we cannot) that Dante knew and studied the latter as he did Vergil, many of these curious coincidences would become evidence of the influence of the older on the later poet.¹

And yet, while the investigation of parallels is so delicate and difficult, it is beyond doubt that such parallels do exist. We are all influenced by the language and thoughts of others, especially as expressed

¹ In rereading the Iliad and the Odyssey during the preparation of this book I have been struck with the number of coincidences with the Divine Comedy,—all, of course, explainable on simple grounds. As an example compare the description of the Elysian plain:

οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἄρ' χεϊμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος
(*Odyssey*, IV, 566),

and of Olympus:

οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος
δεύεται οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπιλναται, etc. (*Ibid.*, VI, 43),

with *Purg.*, XXI, 46:

Perchè non pioggia, non grando, non neve,
Non rugiada, non brina più su cade,
Che la scaletta dei re gradi breve.
Nuvole spesse non paion, etc.

in literature. Not only is all language frozen metaphors, but there is not a single cultivated writer of English who does not, consciously or unconsciously, weave into his own style fragments from the great authors. To mention only the influence of Shakespeare—whose phrases have become part and parcel of the English language—there is scarcely a writer to-day, great or small, whose style is not saturated with Shakespearean expressions.¹

¹To give examples of this almost self-evident proposition is like painting the lily, yet I cannot forbear quoting one or two passages taken at random from contemporaneous writers. Thus Leslie Stephen in the first instalment of his "Early Impressions," in the *Atlantic Monthly* (September, 1903) adapts, without quotation, a line from Shakespeare's thirtieth sonnet: "When therefore I summon up remembrances of things past, I am forced to confess," etc. While the *New York Sun* in an editorial (January 5, 1904) unites reminiscences of the Beatitudes and the speech of Cassius in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* to point a gentle satire upon Harvard athletics: "The world hungers and thirsts to know upon what meat the Harvard students feed that they are grown so great in athletic performances."

In some cases these parallels appeal to our judgment with convincing force, and we straightway accept them without question. In other cases the process is more complicated, and only after a careful sifting can we form an opinion. Thus in Longfellow's Sonnet on Dante we find the lines:

The ice about thy heart melts as the snow
On mountain heights, and in swift overflow
Comes gushing from thy lips in sobs of shame.

Where did the poet get this figure? We have already seen that it is a natural one and that examples of it exist in all literatures. Do we then need to seek a parallel? If so, how shall we select from the large number of similar expressions to be found in every literature? And yet when we consider that Longfellow is talking about Dante and his meeting with Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise, we are compelled to believe that although he may have had in mind many other passages

containing the same metaphor, in this case at least he was influenced by Dante's lines:

Lo gel che m' era intorno al cor ristretto,
 Spirito ed acqua fèssi, e con angoscia
 Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì dal petto.
 Purg., XXX, 97-99.

The most important kind of influence, however, of a great moral poet and teacher such as Dante is, is spiritual, affecting the inner life of those who study his poem with reverence and love. Such influence is most difficult of all to estimate. No doubt most of the references to Dante in the early centuries are more or less perfunctory. Chaucer affords little evidence of having this spiritual appreciation, and the same thing is true even of Milton. It is only in the nineteenth century that, as we shall see later, this deeper, broader, more spiritual influence of Dante began to manifest itself in all its fulness and power. Then only a whole group of the noblest intellects of England, devoting them-

selves to the study of the Divine Comedy, saw as they pored over its pages new horizons open out before them, felt in their hearts the inspiration of noble thoughts, and penetrated with him into the realities of the unseen world. There is scarcely one of the great men of modern England who does not confirm by word and example the testimony of Hallam as to the spiritual influence of Dante: "An English mind that has drunk deep at the sources of southern inspiration, and especially that is imbued with the spirit of the mighty Florentine, will be conscious of a perpetual freshness and quiet beauty, resting on his imagination and spreading gently over his affections, until, by the blessing of Heaven, it may be absorbed without loss in the pure inner light of which that voice has spoken as no other can:

Luce intellettuale piena d' amore
Amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
Letizia che trascende ogni dolzore."

Par., XXX, 40-42.

CHAPTER II.

CHAU CER.

DANTE died in the year 1321, an exile from his native land. His life to all appearances had been a wretched failure. But scarcely had he been laid away in his tomb, than recognition and glory began to crown his memory. Florence, which had treated him so harshly in his lifetime, now sought for his ashes; men began to study his poem, to write commentaries and eulogies. The lectureship on the Divine Comedy established in Florence in 1373 lasted for an hundred years and was followed by others in different cities. Poets celebrated his glory and made him the constant object of their

study and imitation.¹ Especially enthusiastic in his admiration was Giovanni Boccaccio, "franco ingegno ed aperto a ogni specie di bello, natura buona e generosa, senza superbie ne invidie."²

How early Dante became known in England it is difficult to state. Efforts have been made to prove that he had visited Oxford during his years of exile, but the evidence adduced for this purpose is far from being strong.³ That he was early known to the English clergy is proved by the fact that in 1417 Giovanni di Serravalle made a Latin translation of the Divine Comedy at the request of two English bishops whom he

¹ Cf. Cino da Pistoia:

Che nostro Dante signor d' ogni rima,
and Simone Serdini:

il sacro fiorentin poeta,
Che nostra lingua a fatto in ciel salire.

(See Carducci, *Studi Letterari*, p. 224.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³ Cf. Gladstone, *Did Dante Study in Oxford?*, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 31.

had met at the Council of Constance (1414-1418).¹ A copy of this translation was probably sent to England. Before this, however, Chaucer had brought to England a copy of the Italian poem, and had given incontrovertible evidence in his works of having been influenced by Dante.

William Langland was born about 1330, and his poem (the *B* text) was published in 1376 — three years after Boccaccio began his lectures on the Divine Comedy in Florence. It is thus possible, of course, that the English poet may have known the works of Dante. This is, however, not probable, and M. Jusserand is undoubtedly right in attributing the rather interesting resemblances between *Piers Plowman* and the Divine Comedy to merely common sources.²

¹ Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 31, p. 1040; Plumptre, *Dante: The Divina Commedia and Canzoniere*, V, p. 114.

² "Thus it happens that similarities might be

The earliest traces, then, of Dante's influence on English poetry begin with Chaucer. That such influence really exists, in the case of the latter, is beyond doubt, and was long ago pointed out by English and German scholars. Ten Brink, Lounsbury, Rambeau, and others have collected the evidence and drawn various conclusions therefrom. It is not necessary here, then, to do more than give a general sketch of the subject, and to refer the reader for a more detailed discussion to the various monographs on the subject.

pointed out, without there being the least attempt at imitation, between Langland and Dante." (Jusserand, *Piers Plowman*, p. 193.)

Among these resemblances pointed out by M. Jusserand are the following: Both poets lived absorbed in visions, both made an awful pilgrimage through nine circles of Hell and nine zones of Purgatory until they arrived in Paradise; both meet the Seven Deadly Sins, see a mystical representation of the events of the Gospel, judge the Papacy severely, curse the temporal power of the Pope, accept the legend according to which Trajan was saved, etc.

A careful reading of Chaucer's various works reveals at once the fact that he was well acquainted with Italian literature.¹ Not only does he imitate Petrarch freely, but he expressly says he met him and learned from him the story of the Patient Grisildis.² Boccaccio likewise exerted an influence over him, although very strangely Chaucer never mentions his name.³

¹ It is strange that Craik could doubt this. "It may be questioned, then, if much more than the fame of Italian song had reached the ear of Chaucer." (Hist. Eng. Lit., I, 296.)

² I wol yow telle a tale which that I
Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,
As preved by his wordes and his werk.

Fraunces Petrark, the laureat poete,
Highte this clerk. (Prologue to the Clerke's Tale.)

³ This remarkable silence has been the subject of much speculation on the part of Chaucer scholars. The simplest as well as the most sensible explanation is that given by Dr. John Koch: "The only explanation therefore is to assume that Chaucer, though he knew that Boccaccio wrote poems, did not know his name, or that of the author of the MSS. he (Chaucer) had bought." (Essays on Chaucer, pub. by Chaucer Soc., p. 412.)

Equally well established is the fact of Dante's influence. The question as to the extent of this influence, however, has excited no inconsiderable discussion, some undoubtedly exaggerating it, others as undoubtedly minifying it. As an example of the former, we may take Rambeau, when he speaks of the "übermächtigen Einfluss" of Dante on the House of Fame.¹ On the other hand I am inclined to think Professor Lounsbury underestimates this influence.² As in all similar questions, the truth probably lies between the two extremes.

Let us in the first place gather together those facts concerning Chaucer's relations to Dante which no one is disposed to deny. There are several cases of actual mention of the Italian poet and

¹ Eng. Stud., vol. III. In summing up the results of his investigations, however, Rambeau uses more moderate language.

² Studies in Chaucer, vol. II.

his works in Chaucer. Thus there is a reference to the *Inferno* in Book I of the *House of Fame*, where the English poet tells all those who wish to know

Every tourment eek in helle,
that they must

rede many a rowe
On Virgile or on Claudian
Or Daunte, that hit telle can.

And in the *Friar's Tale* (1516 ff.) the fiend in shape of a yeoman tells the *Somnour* how "her-afterward" he will be where

thee needeth nat of me to lere.
For thou shalt by thyn owene experience
Conne in a chayer rede of this sentence
Bet than Virgyle, whyl he was on lyve
Or Daunt also.

In several passages we have direct mention of Dante's name in connection with translations from the *Divine Comedy*. Thus in the *Wyf of Bath's Tale* (lines

1125 ff.) Chaucer gives an English version of Dante's discussion of degenerate children:

Wel can the wyse poete of Florence
That highte Dant, speken in this sentence:
Lo in swich maner rym is Dante's tale:
Ful selde up ryseth by his branches smale
Prowesse of man; for god, of his goodnesse,
Wol that of him we clayme our gentilnesse."¹

¹ Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'uman probitate: e questo vuole
Quei che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami.
Purg., VII, 121-3.

Chaucer repeats this mediæval commonplace in the short poem on Gentilnesse. He also must have had in mind, of course, the passage of Boëthius (III, 6), since he had translated it in his English version of *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*:

Quæ (nobilitas) si ad claritudinem refertur, aliena est.

Cf. Edition by R. Morris of Chaucer's translation in the Early Eng. Text Soc. Cf. also *Roman de la Rose*:

Noblèce vient de bon corage
Car gentillèce de lignage
N'est pas gentillèce qui vaille

—lines which seem almost literally translated by Tennyson in *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*:

Howe'er it be, it seems to me
'Tis only noble to be good.
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

Similarly Chaucer in the Prologue to the Legend of Good Women paraphrases the lines of the *Inferno*¹ on Envy, who,

Is lavender in the grete court alway,
For she ne parteth, neither night ne day,
Out of the Hous of Cesar; thus saith Dante.

The best of these translations or versions as well as the longest is that of Ugolino and the Tower of Hunger, given in the Monk's Tale, which Chaucer, contrary to his usual custom, has condensed to nearly one half of its length in the original:

Of the erl Hugelyn of Pyse the languor
Ther may no tonge telle for pitee;

¹ La meretrice che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti
Morte comune, e delle corti vizio.

Inf., XIII, 64-66.

Gower has the same thought, which he, however, attributes to Seneca:

Senec witnesseth openly
How that Envie proprely
Is of the Court the comun wenche.

Conf. Amant., II, 3095-98.

G. C. Macaulay in his edition of the English Works of Gower (Early Eng. Text Soc.) thinks this passage "may be based really upon the well-known passage of Dante."

But litel out op Pyse stant a tour
In whiche tour in prisoun put was he,
And with him been his litel children three.
The eldest scarsly fyf yeer was of age.
Alas, fortune! it was greet crueltee
Swiche briddes for to putte in swiche a cage!
Dampned was he to deye in that prisoun,
For Roger which the bisshop was of Pyse,
Hadde on him maad a fals suggestioun,
Thurgh which the peple gan upon him ryse,
And putten him to prisoun in swich wyse
As ye han heard, and mete and drink he hadde
So smal, that wel unnethe it may suffyse,
And therwith-al it was ful povre and badde.
And on a day bifel that, in that hour
When that his mete wont was to be broght
The gayler shette the dores of the tour.
He herde it wel,—but he spak right noght,
And in his herte anon ther fil a thoght,
That they for hunger wolde doon him dyen.
“Allas!” god he, “Allas! that I was wrought!”
Therwith the teres fillen from his yën.

His yonge son, that three yeer was of age,
Unto him seyde, “fader, why do ye wepe?
Whan woe the gayler bringen our potage,
Is ther no morsel breed that ye do kepe?
I am so hungry that I may nat slepe.
Now wolde God that I mighte slepen ever!

Than sholde nat hunger in my wombe crepe;
 Ther is no thing, save breed, that me were lever

Thus day by day this child bigan to crye,
 Till in his fadres barme adoun it lay,
 And seyde "far-wel, fader, I moot dye,"
 And kiste his fader, and deyde the same day.
 And whan the woful fader deed it sey,
 For wo his armes two he gan to byte,
 And seyde, "Allas, fortune! and weylaway!"
 Thy false wheel my wo al may I wyte."

His children wende that it for hunger was
 That he his armes gnow, and not for wo,
 And seyde, "fader, do not so allas!
 But rather eet the flesh upon us two;
 Our flesh thou yaf us, tak our flesh us fro
 And eet y-nough;" right thus they to him seyde
 And after that, with-in a day or two,
 They leyde hem in his lappe adoun and deyde.

Himsel, despeired, eek for hunger starf;
 Thus ended is this mighty erl of Pyse;
 From heigh estaat fortune away him carf.
 Of this Tragedie it oghte y-nough suffyse.
 Who-so wol here it in a lenger wyse,
 Redeth the grete poete of Itaille,
 That highte Dant, for he can al devyse
 Fro point to point, not o word wol he faille.¹

¹ Cf. *Inferno*, XXXIII, 1 ff.

In addition to the above passages, where there is special mention of Dante, we have several others so definite that I think there can be little doubt as to their Dantean source. In the *Parlement of Foules* we find an inscription over the gate to the Park which is evidently imitated from Dante's dread inscription over the entrance to Hell:

Thorgh me men goon in-to that blisful place
 Of herte's hele and dedly woundes cure;
 Thorgh me men goon unto the welle of Grace,
 Ther grene and lusty May shal ever endure;
 This is the way to al good aventure;
 Be glad, thou reder, and thy sorwe ofcaste,
 Al open am I; passe in, and hy the faste.¹

So, too, the lines in the last stanza of *Troilus and Criseyde*:

Thou oon, and two, and three, eterne on-lyve,
 That regnest ay in three and two and oon,
 Uncircumscript, and al mayst circumscrieve,

¹ Per me si va nella città dolente,
 Per me si va nell' eterno dolore,
 Per me si va tra la perduta gente.

Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.

are very plainly taken from the *Paradiso* while the exquisite prayer in the 33 canto of the same *cantica*² is thus rendered in the Prologue to the *Seconde Nonne Tale*:

Thou mayde and mooder, doghter of thy sone,
Thou welle of mercy, sinful soules cure,
In whom that God, for boontee, chees to wone
Thou, humble, and heigh over every creature,
Thou nobledest so ferforth our nature,
That no desdeyn the maker hadde of kinde,
His sone in blode and flesh to clothe and winde.

Within the cloistre blisful of thy sydes
Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees,
That of the tryne compas lord and gyde is,

¹ Quel' Uno e Due e Tre che sempre vive,
E regna sempre in Tre e Due e Uno,
Non circoscritto, e tutto circonscrive.

Par., XIV, 28-30.

² Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che creatura,
Termine fisso d' eterno consiglio,
Tu se' colei, che l' umana natura
Nobilitasti, sì che il suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura, etc.

Par., XXXIII, 1 ff.

Cf. with this the beautiful *Canzone* (VIII) of Petrarch:

Vergine pura, d' ogni parte intera
Del tuo parto gentil figliuola e madre, etc.

Whom erth and see and heven, out of relees
 Ay herien; and thou virgin, wemmelees,
 Bar of thy body, and dweltest mayden pure,
 The creatour of every creature.

Assembled is in thee magnificence
 With mercy, goodnesse, and with swich pitee,
 That thou that art the sonne of excellence,
 Nat only helpest hem that preyen thee
 But ofte tyme, of thy benignitee
 Ful frely, er that men thyn help biseche
 Thou goost biforn, and art hir lyves leche.

There are still other passages which may
 or may not have come from Dante. Of
 such is the reference to the famous re-
 mark of Francesca da Rimini:

Nessun maggior dolore
 Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
 Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore,¹

which seems to be pretty closely imitated
 in Troilus and Criseyde (III, 1625 ff.):

For of fortunes sharp adversitee
 The worste kind of infortune is this
 A man to have ben in prosperitee
 And it remembren, whan it passed is;²

¹ Inf., V, 121-3.

² Chaucer may have taken this thought from

so, too, it seems probable that the invocation to Apollo in the opening lines of Book III of the *House of Fame*:

O God of science and of light,
Apollo, through thy grete might,
This litel laste book thou gye!

.
Thou shall see me go, as blyve,
Unto the nexte laure I see,
And kisse hit, for hit is thy tree,

was suggested by *Paradiso*, I, 13 ff.;¹

Boëthius: "In omni adversitate fortunæ, infelicitissimum est genus infortunii fuisse felicem" (*De Cons. Phil.*, II, 4); or from St. Thomas Aquinas: "Memoria præteritorum bonorum . . . in quantum sunt amissa, causat tristitiam" (*Sum. Theol.*, II, ii, 36, 1). This sentiment was enormously popular throughout the middle ages and even in modern times. We shall find it reappearing in Gower, Drummond, Wordsworth, Alfred de Musset, Tennyson, and many others.

¹ O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro
Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,
Come dimandi a dar l' amato alloro.

.
O divina Virtù, se mi ti presti
Tanto che l' ombra del beato regno
Segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,
Venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno
E coronarmi alor di quelle foglie.

and that Dante's lines in *Inferno*, II, 8-9,¹ are the original of Chaucer's allocution to his own mind in Book II, 15 ff.:

O thought, that wroot al that I mette,
And in the tresorie hit shette,
Of my brayn! Now shall men see
If any vertu in thee be.

Still other parallels that have been attributed to Chaucer with more or less probability are as follows:

The day gan failen, and the derke night,
That reveth bestes from hir besinesse
(*Parl. of Foules*, 85-6),

and

Lo giorno s' andava, e l' aer bruno
Toglieva gli animai che sono in terra
Dalle fatiche loro. (*Inf.*, II, 1-3.)²

¹ O mente, che scrivesti ciò ch' io vidi,
Qui si parrà la tua nobilitate.

² Yet this expression is very common, as may be seen from the following examples:

Nox erat; et terras animalia fessa per omnis
Alitum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat.

(*Verg. Æn.*, VIII, 26, 27.)

La nuit estoit obscure, triste et sombre,
Toute tranquille, et preste a malefice,
Tous animaux reposantz soubz son ombre.

(*Pernette du Guillet*).

Nun ruhen alle Wälder,
Vieh, Menschen, Stadt und Felder;
Es schläft die ganze Welt. (Paul Gerhardt).

The metaphor taken from leaves:

And as in winter leaves been biraf
Ech after other, till the tre be bare,

is like the passage in *Inferno*, III, 112:

Come d' autunno si levan le foglie
L' una appresso dell' altra, infin che il ramo
Vede alla terra tutte le sue spoglie.¹

So, too, the

wete brondes in hir brenninge,
And at the brondes ende out-ran anoon
As it were bloody dropes many oon
(*Knights Tale*, 2338),

recall the similar phenomenon mentioned
by Dante in *Inferno*, XIII, 40:

Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia
Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme
E cigola per vento che va via.²

¹ The metaphor of dead and falling leaves is very common, occurring in Homer (*Iliad*, VI, 146), Vergil (*Æn.*, VI, 309), Ariosto (*O. F.*, IX, 7), Tasso (*G. L.*, IX, 66), Shakespeare ("My way of life, Is fallen into the sere, the yellow leaf"—*Macbeth*, V, 3), Leopardi ("disse il veglio di Chio, Conforme ebber natura Le foglie e l' uman seme"), and Lamartine ("je suis semblable à la feuille flétrie").

² Still other resemblances have been pointed out

The question as to the influence of Dante on the outer form of Chaucer's works has been often discussed. This applies especially to the *Parlement of Foules* and the *House of Fame*. Both are visions in which the poet is led by a guide as Dante was. In the *Parlement of Foules*¹ the guide is Africanus, in the *House of Fame* it is an eagle. It is the latter poem which has especially attracted

between the forest in the *Knichtes Tale* (1977 ff.) and the Wood of Suicides; in the beautiful figure of the flower lifting its head at sunrise (*Inf.*, II, 127-129, and *Troilus and Criseyde*, II. Cf. also Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, III, 13); and even in phrases such as "the poynt of remembrance" (cf. "la puntura della rimembranza," *Purg.*, XII, 19), and "the Orient laugheth at the sight," *Knichtes Tale*, 1493 (cf. "Faceva tutto rider l'oriente," *Purg.*, I, 20).

¹This poem is a direct imitation of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, although Dante is mentioned by name in it, and there are very evident reminiscences of the *Divine Comedy*. Cf. the inscription given in note on p. 27, and also cf. the following lines:

With that my hond in his he took anoon,
Of whiche I comfort caughte (*P. of F.*, 169)

with

E poi che la sua mano alla mia pose
Con lieto volto, ond' io mi confortai (*Inf.*, III, 19).

the attention of investigators, some of whom have certainly allowed their enthusiasm to run away with their judgment. Thus Rambeau speaks of Dante's "overwhelming influence"; Skeat declares the poem to be the translation from Dante spoken of by Lydgate;¹ Morley says Chaucer here shows himself more clearly than in any other of his works a disciple of Dante;² and Ten Brink declares that the English poet deliberately sought to produce "ein heiteres und leichtes Gegenstück zur Göttlichen Komödie."

Now, that Chaucer had Dante more or less in mind when he wrote the House of Fame there can be little doubt, for, as we have seen, he definitely mentions him, and several parallels are perfectly evident. Yet to seek a wide-reaching and intentional imitation, or a parody, is going too far. Rambeau in his article in the Eng-

¹ Skeat, Chaucer: The Minor Poems, p. lxx.

² English Writers, vol. V, p. 219.

lische Studien (vol. III.) sums up all possible points of comparison, without much care as to whether they are real or merely fortuitous. Thus, says he, both books are in the form of a dream; in both the poet is saved by the interposition of Heaven; Beatrice and Vergil as guides correspond to the eagle who guides Chaucer, speaks with a man's voice, reads his thoughts, answers his questions, and discusses difficult problems with him. Both mention Priam, Dido, Statius, Jason, and a score of others. The *selva oscura* of Dante corresponds with the *dürre Wüste* at the end of Book I; the ice-rock on which the House of Fame is built is like Purgatory, high, steep, and hard to climb. As Dante says to Vergil that he is neither St. Paul nor Æneas,¹ so Chaucer says to the eagle:

I neither am Enok ne Elye.

¹ Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono. (Inf., II, 32.)

36 *DANTE AND THE ENGLISH POETS.*

As the noise of the Phlegethon falling into
the abyss reminds Dante of the sound of
bees,¹ so Chaucer heard

A noise aprochen blyve
That ferde as been done in an hyve
Agen her tyme of out-fleying (Book III, 431);
and the scene where the eagle

Terribil come folgor discendesse ²
is paraphrased or almost translated, according to Morley,³ in Book II:

This egle, of which I have yow told
That shoon with fethres as of gold,
Which that so hyë gan to soar,
I gan beholde more and more
To see hir beautee and the wonder;
But never was the dint of thunder,
Ne that thing that men calle foudre
That smoot sometyme a tour to poudre,
And in his swifte coming brende,
That so swythe gan descende,

¹ Inf., XVI, 1-3; cf. Vergil, *Geor.*, IV, 260-263.

² *Purg.*, IX, 19-33.

"Which eagle has flown into Chaucer's poem out of the Ninth Canto of Dante's *Purgatory*." (*Eng. Writers*, V, p. 220.)

And this foul, whan hit behelde
That I a-roume was in the felde;
And with his grimme pawes strong
Within his sharpe nayles longe
Me, fleinge at a swappe he hente
And with his sours agayn upwente,
Me carrynge in his clawes starke.

I have quoted the above parallels from the House of Fame, not because I believe that in every case the influence of Dante is proven, but to give an idea of the kind of evidence brought to bear on this question by Ten Brink, Rambeau, and others. Undoubtedly many of the similarities should be attributed to the general body of mediæval conventionalities. The form of a dream was one of the commonplaces of the time, and Chaucer knew well the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boëthius, the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Triumphs* of Petrarch, to say nothing of *Piers Plowman*, *Raoul d'Houdan*, and *Guillaume de Guileville*. In regard to metaphors, episodes, and re-

flections on life and society, Chaucer was likewise well acquainted with all that the literature of the day could furnish him, and although in some cases he undoubtedly followed Dante, in others we cannot state positively what his sources were.

Chaucer's character was not one to be completely attracted to Dante. He was not a philosopher, or politician, or theologian. In the words of Mr. Ward, "If he had strong political opinions of his own, or strong personal views on questions of ecclesiastical policy or religious doctrine, he did not use his poetry, allegorical or otherwise, as a vehicle of his wishes, hopes, or fears on those heads." He was gay, light-tempered, gentle; loved birds, flowers, cheerful company, the brilliant society of the court, and travel. Dante was sad, grim, terrible in his intense earnestness; a man of one idea, a religious and political reformer. Hence the deepest of all influences which Dante can exert—

that upon life and character, and spiritual ideals—was small in the case of Chaucer.

On the other hand, Chaucer delighted in stories, he followed his age in the use of allegory, in the fondness for those moralizing reflections (almost commonplaces) which were so characteristic of mediæval poetry. Hence the fruit of his reading of Dante—a reading which I conceive to be superficial—consists, as may be seen from the quotations given in the above pages, in the appropriation of those parts of the latter's works which were in harmony with his own disposition and poetical characteristics.

CHAPTER III.

FROM CHAUCER TO MILTON.

WITH the death of Chaucer and the opening of that long period when English literature was at its lowest ebb, practically all trace of Dante's influence dies out for over a hundred years. The two poets who form an apparent exception to this statement are both of secondary importance, and show little if any real knowledge of Dante.

John Gower (1325?–1408) in the *Confessio Amantis* (VII, 2329 ff.) tells the well-known story of Dante's answer to the flatterer:¹

¹ This story is given by Petrarch in his *Libri Rerum Memorandarum*. See Papanti, *Dante secondo la Tradizione e i Novellatori*, p. 31.

How Dante the poete answerde
 To a flatour, the tale I herde,
 Upon a strif bitwen hem two
 He seide him, "Ther ben many mo
 Of thy servantes than of myne,
 For the poete of his covyne
 Hath non that wol him clothe and fede,
 But a flatour may reule and lede
 A king with al his lond aboute,"—

and explains in a marginal note that the story was told of a certain poet "*de Ytalia, qui Dante vocabatur.*"

The parallels which have been drawn between Gower and Dante, such as the reference to Medusa,¹ the statue symbolizing the variations of the world's history,² the reference to Celestine V. and Boniface VIII.,³ to Constantine's gift to Sylvester,⁴ and to that Envie which

Is of the court the comun wenche,⁵

¹ Conf. Amant., I, 401 ff.; cf. Inf., IX, 52.

² Prologus to Conf. Amant. Cf. Inf., XIV.

³ Conf. Amant., II, 2803 ff.

⁴ The patrimonie and the richesse
 Which to Silvestre in pure almesse
 The ferste Constantinus lefte, etc.

Prologus, 741. Cf. Inf., XIX, 115-118.

⁵ See note on p. 24.

—all of these are not taken from Dante, but from common sources⁴⁹

John Lydgate (1378⁸⁻¹⁴⁵¹—1431) marks a still farther step in the degradation of English literature in the period between Chaucer and the Elizabethan writers, and we need not be surprised to find little evidence of Dante's influence on him, in spite of the statement made by Warton¹ that he had studied the great Florentine. Inasmuch, however, as he used Boccaccio's material in the *Fall of Princes* (taken from the former's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*), it is natural that we should find at least a mention of that Dante who was the object of such veneration on the part of Boccaccio. In the *Fall of Princes* he tells how Dante "of Florence, the laureate poete, demure of loke, fulfilled with patience," appears to Boccaccio, and commands him to write the tale of Gualter, Duke of Florence.² In another place he declares Chaucer had

¹ *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. III, p. 54.

² Book IX. See Warton, vol. III, p. 71, who

translated Dante,¹ a statement which has greatly puzzled Chaucer scholars.

Before taking up the discussion of Dante's influence on the Elizabethan poets, let us see how his reputation stood about this time in Italy itself. We know that for many years after his death his fellow countrymen admired him exceedingly, and that in a number of cities public lectureships on the *Divine Comedy* had been established. Owing, however, to the increasing neglect of the vernacular as a means of literary expression, and to the use of Latin almost exclusively among the Humanists, the admiration for indige-

also notes that in the Prologue to Book IV Dante's three books on Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise are particularly commended.

Lydgate translated (1426) the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* from Guillaume de Guilleville (1335), which bears a certain fortuitous resemblance to Dante, and which some have looked on as a source of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

¹ He wrote also full many a day agone

Daunt in Englysh, hymselfe so doth expresse.

Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. I, p. 420.

nous poetry was greatly lessened during the whole period of the Renaissance, and Dante himself was to a certain extent included in this neglect. Petrarch, the founder of the Renaissance, although he gave perfunctory praise to Dante, professed never to have read him.¹ In the sixteenth century the great literary influence on Italian lyrical poetry was this same Petrarch, who practically ignores his great predecessor, while Ariosto and Tasso reign supreme² in the domain of the ro-

¹ See Carducci, *Studi Letterari*, p. 277. In *Trionfo d' Amore* (IV, 31) Petrarch makes the bare mention of Dante: "Ecco Dante e Beatrice." The *Pietoso Epitaffio Dantesco* di Fr. Petrarca,—

Hic jacet eloquii moles facunda latini
Hic situs orbis honos, hic tuscæ gloria gentis,
Hic decus et vatum princeps, hic corpus humatum
Dantis Aligeri, patria qui pulsus ab urbe
Invidia, magnis decoravit laudibus orbem,—

quoted by Del Balzo (*Poesie di Mille Autori Intorno a Dante Alighieri*, vol. II, p. 163) is probably the work of an enemy or "un suo troppo amico." For a discussion of Dante's reputation among the early Humanists see Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, p. 70 ff.

² For the contest as to the comparative greatness of Dante and Tasso, see Umberto Cosmo, *Giorn. Storico*, XLII.

mantic epic. Nay, even such writers as Sannazaro, Guarini, Alamanni, and later Marini, exerted vastly more influence in Italy than Dante. A similar statement is true of both England and France.¹

In England there is but little evidence

¹ Dante is mentioned with respect a number of times in France at this time. De Baif calls him the

Premier Tuscan (que lon peult dire Pere)
Partout où elle court de sa langue vulgaire
Qui aimait sa Patrie (Del Balzo, vol. V, p. 337);

Du Bellay in his Ode (1549) à Madame Marguerite d'Ecrire en sa Langue mentions Dante among the great writers (*Ibid.*, p. 227); while Margaret of Navarre on the occasion of her brother's death repeats the well-known sentiment of Francesca da Rimini:

Douleur n'y a qu' au temps de la misère
Se recorder del' heureux et prospère
Comme autrefois en Dante j'ai trouvé.

Cf. Hauvette, Dante nella Poesia Francese del Rinascimento.

Montaigne in his Essays, Livre I, ch. 25, quotes the line,

Sempre a quel ver c' ha faccia di menzogna (Inf., XVI, 124), and in Livre II, ch. 12, quotes:

Così per entro loro schiera bruna
S' ammusà l' una con l' altra formica
Forse a spiar lor via e lor fortuna.

(Purg., XXVI, 34-6.)

Cf. further Oelsner, Dante in Frankreich.

of an actual knowledge of Dante on the part of many who mention him as a great poet. Such references to his greatness are in general perfunctory, and seem based on the statement of others or on general reputation rather than on personal conviction.

As a matter of fact, Dante is almost invariably coupled with Boccaccio and Petrarch as forming one of the great triumvirate of Italian poets. Thus John Leland compares Chaucer to Dante and Petrarch:

Prædicat Aligherum merito Florentia Dantem,
Italia et numeros tota Petrarche tuos:
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostram poetam.¹

Thus, too, Thomas Churchyard says Vergil is a greater poet than "Dawnt or Petrarche," and again, in his *Praise of Poetrie*,

¹ Koepfel, *Dante in der Eng. Litt. des 16. Jh.*; *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litt.*, N. F., III, 426 ff. I have made frequent use of this article in the references quoted from the more obscure writers mentioned in this chapter.

refers to Dante as one of the three great Italian poets:

In Italy of yore did dwell
Three men of special spreete;
Whose gallant stiles did sure excell,
Their verses were so sweet.

Of the three, Dante was evidently far less known, as can be seen by the language used in most of the passages where they are mentioned, and especially in the fact that William Thomas in his "Dictionary" (published in 1550) defines "Dante Aldighieri" as "the name of a famous poet in the Italian tongue," while he does not think it necessary to do the same for Boccaccio and Petrarch.

Another phase of this second-hand acquaintance with Dante's works is seen in the fact that during the great religious polemic in the latter half of the sixteenth century Dante is frequently referred to simply as a forerunner of the Reformation, as a severe critic of the corruption of

the Church, while his greatness as a poet is left untouched. Thus Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* speaks of him as one "who took his part . . . against three sorts of men which he sayd were enemyes to the truth: that is the Pope; the order of religious men; thirdly the doctors of decrees and decretals." Direct references are also made by Foxe to the donation of Constantine (discussed by Dante in the *De Monarchia*, and in the *Inferno*, XIX), to the flock of Christ being fed with wind (*Paradiso*, XXIX), and to the Pope's being a wolf ¹ (*Paradiso*, IX). It is very probable that Foxe himself did not know Dante's books, but that he got the above facts from certain controversial pamphlets, then so numerous on the Continent.²

¹ As will be seen later, all three of these references are likewise found in Milton.

² The tradition of Constantine and Pope Sylvester, and the origin of the temporal power of the popes, was strongly contested by Nicolaus von Cusa and

We have thus seen that in general the mention made of Dante in England throughout the sixteenth century does not necessarily indicate more than merely perfunctory praise and a vague knowledge of the poet. Influence, properly so called, on the great poets of the century was very small, if not altogether lacking. Rash statements have been made in this matter; but careful investigation fails to confirm these statements. Thus it has been claimed that Wyatt¹ and Surrey were more or less influenced by Dante; yet the evidence is a perfunctory statement by Puttenham (*Art of English Poesie*, 1589) to the effect that the above poets were "novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch." The po-

Lorenzo Valla on the Continent (Gaspary, II, *Gesch. der Ital. Lit.*, p. 139), and by Reginald Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph, in England (see Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla*, p. 147 ff.).

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Courthope, *History of English Poetry*. Cf. Sills, Wyatt, and Dante, *Journal of Comp. Phil.*, vol. I, p. 390.

etry of Wyatt and Surrey indeed gives very little evidence of such influence, although the latter writes his Restless State of a Lover in *terza rima*.¹ Sir Philip Sidney, it is true, in his Defense of Poesie (1595) mentions Dante several times (here, again, forming with Boccaccio and Petrarch the conventional trio), and even refers to Beatrice: "To good men, who honor the poets, he promises reward. Thus doing, your soule shall be placed with Dante's Beatrix or Vergil's Anchises." Yet that this likewise is merely a repetition of the perfunctory praise mentioned above is shown in the fact that no trace of Dante's influence can be found in the Arcadia, Astrophel and Stella, or the songs and sonnets of Sidney.

The one man who shows internal evidence of knowing Dante fairly well is Sir

¹ The use of the *terza rima*, however, had become general in Italy by this time, and was well known in France. Cf. Kastner, *The Terza Rima in France*. Zt. für Fr. Spr. und Litt., XXVI, 241.

John Harrington, the translator of *Orlando Furioso*. In his *Apology of Poetry* he refers to Dante's relations to Vergil, and in the "Allegorie" of the fourth book of his translation of Ariosto he translates the first three lines of the *Inferno*:

While yet my life was in the middle race,
I found I wandred in a darksome wood,
The right way lost with mine unsteadie pace.

In his epigrams he paraphrases an anecdote told of Dante, to the effect that having asked a bore which was the largest beast and being answered, "The elephant," replied, "Then let me alone, dear elephant." These lines, although no great addition to English poetry, are here given as a literary curiosity. Harrington uses the point against atheists:

The pleasant, learn'd Italian poet Dant,
Hearing an atheist at the scripture jest,
Asked him in jest, which was the greatest beast?
He simply said, he thought an elephant;
Then elephant (quoth Dant) it were commodious
That thou wouldst hold thy peace, or get thee hence,

Breeding our conscience scandall and offence
 With thy profaned speech, most vile and odious.
 Oh Italy, thou breedst but few such Dants,
 I would our England bred no elephants.¹

There are two longer poems by writers but little known except to special students of English literature, which have apparently so close a resemblance to the Divine Comedy as to have led some to attribute a direct influence on the part of the latter. The first of these, the Dreme of Sir David Lyndesay (ca. 1490-1558), tells us how the Poet fell asleep one morning in January, saw a lady called Resemblance who leads him first to Hell,

Doun throw the eird in myddis of centeir,
 Or ever I wist, in to lawest hell.²

Here he saw popes and kings and cardi-

¹ See Koeppel. This story is given by Poggio Bracciolini in his *Facetiæ* (see Papanti, p. 91), and is contained in "Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answers," pub. by H. Wykes, London, 1557. See Elizabethan Translations from the Italian, by Mary Augusta Scott (Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., N. S., vol. III, p. 263).

² Cf. "in questo basso inferno" (Inf., VIII, 75).

nals, Simon Magus, Caiaphas, Mahomet, and many other characters named by Dante. He sees also in a place apart princes and nobles, whose rank gave them what Michael Wigglesworth calls the "easiest room in Hell."¹ We are reminded of Dante by many of the details

Off this presoun, the panis in speciall

The heit, the calde, the dolour and dispyte, etc.²

The poet next visits Purgatory and Limbo,

Quhare mony babbis war makand drery mone
Because they wantit the Fruitioun
Off God.

¹ Importabyll paine they had, but comfortyng
Thare blood royall maid thame no supportyng.

Dante assigns an easier lot to the great pagans in Limbo, and separates kings and princes from the others in Canto VII of Purgatory. Michael Wigglesworth, the quaint Puritan poet of the Day of Doom, makes the Almighty treat unbaptized children with the same indulgence:

A crime it is, therefor in bliss
You may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow
The easiest room in hell.

² Cf. Shakespeare:

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbèd ice.

After which he ascended through the atmospheres of air and of fire, visited the seven planets, among others the moon, which he calls, in a beautiful line,

Quene of the see, and bewtie of the nycht,
and Venus, who

is provocatyve

Tyll all thame that ar subject to hir cure,¹

and finally reaches the Empyrean, where dwell God and the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy. Here he beholds many of those seen by Dante, the Patriarchs, Confessors, Martyrs, Christ the Captain, and St. Peter the "Lufetenand Generall" of the heavenly host. Casting his eyes backward, he sees the earth below,

Bot lyke one moit as it apperit to me.²

¹ Cf. "Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta."
Purg., I, 19.

² Cf. L' aiuola che ci fa tante feroci,
"Volgondom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
Tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci."
Par., XXII, 151-3.

Resemblance shows him the Garden of
Paradise filled with flowers,

Baith herbe and tree, thare growis ever grene
Throw vertew of the temperat air serene,

and rising above the mid-region of air,

Quhare no manner of perturbatioun
Off wodder may ascend so hie as thair.¹

Very many details equally striking could be added, but enough has been given to show the general nature of the resemblances. On every page the reader of Dante is struck with familiar scenes, episodes, and reflections. In spite of all this, however, while making the comparison between the two, I have failed to be convinced of anything more than a general resemblance, entirely explainable from the conventionalities of the times.

Another poem of the same general nature is Lord Sackville's *Induction to the Mirror of Magistrates*, in which "all

¹ Cf. *Purg.*, XXI, 46, and see note on p. 111.

the illustrious but unfortunate characters from English history are introduced before the Poet," who, as Warton says, descends, like Dante, into Hell.¹

The Poet meets a woman dressed in black, who turns out to be Sorrow (the Frau Sorge of German folk-lore) who says to him:

I shall thee guide first to the grisly lake
And thence unto the blissful place of rest.

Like Dante he enters a forest:

Ere I was ware, unto a desert wood
We were now come,

where had it not been for his guide he had been lost, for

It was no way for any mortal wight.

He heard great noise, howls and the barking of dogs, so that, like Dante under

¹ Sackville-West in his edition of the work of his noble ancestor says he had formed his plan after Dante; while Lowell expresses the opinion that "probably Sackville had read the Divine Comedy." The Mirror of Magistrates, of which Sackville wrote only the Induction, like Lydgate's Fall of Princes, was confessedly borrowed from Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*.

similar circumstances, he was frightened, and

Half-distraught unto the ground I fell,
Besought return and not to visit hell.

Sorrow reassures him and they come to a "hideous hole all vast, withouten shape" and full of "stinking vapours." Here he sees not actual persons such as Dante had seen, but personifications, Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Old Age, Famine, War, Death, all doomed, like the *accidiosi* in Dante's Styx,

never to enjoy again
The gladsome light.¹

They come to Acheron, cross it in Charon's boat, pass by Cerberus and

Thence come we to the horror and the hell,

The wide waste places and the huge plain,
The wailings, shrieks, and sundry sorts of pain.
The sighs and sobs, the deep and deadly groan;
Earth, air and all, resounding plaint and moan.

¹ Tristi fummo
Nel aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra

Or ci attristiam nella belletta negra (Inf. VII. 121.)

The Induction ends with the meeting with Henry Duke of Buckingham, who tells his "Complaint."

Here, as in the case of Lyndesay's Dreme, I have given an outline of this poem, so full of suggestions of the Divine Comedy, not that I believe that Sackville imitated the Florentine poet, but to give examples of the resemblances which have led some to believe in such an influence.

In discussing a question which has received the affirmation of competent critics, we must exercise more than usual caution, both in the matter of collecting evidence, and in the final judgment made on the material at hand. Thus we have certain very positive statements, as to the influence of Dante on Spenser, by such men as Lowell, who in quoting the mystic procession in the Earthly Paradise,¹ as a parallel to the tenth Canto of Book VI of

¹ Purg., XXIX. XXX.

the Faerie Queene, says in a note: "Spenser, who had like Dante a Platonizing side, and who was probably the first English poet since Chaucer that had read the *Commedia*, has imitated the pictorial side of these passages in the Faerie Queene. He has turned it into a compliment, and a very beautiful one, to a living mistress. It is instructive to compare the effect of his purely sensuous verse with that of Dante, which has such a wonderful reach behind the verse."¹

¹ This passage of Spenser, however, is more like Tasso (the naked maidens) and Politian (Island of Venus in *Stanze*) than Dante, the only reminiscence of whom is in the casting of the flowers on the "jolly shepheard's lasse" (cf. *Purg.*, XXX, 28 ff.). Lowell repeats several times his belief that Spenser (at times) deliberately imitates Dante. "Like Milton fifty years later," says he, "Spenser shows that he had read his (Dante's) works closely" (*Essay on Dante*); and again: "Spenser was familiar with the *Divine Comedy*, though I do not remember that his commentators have pointed out his chief obligations to it" (*Essay on Spenser*). This last statement would seem to prove that Lowell was unacquainted with Todd's edition of Spenser, which points out a number of what purport

Another parallel, as Lowell thinks, between Dante and Spenser is found in the lines of the *Faerie Queene* (II, canto 3, stanza 40):

Who-so in pompe of prowde estate (quoth she)
Does swim, and bathes himselfe in courtly blis,

Does waste his dayes in dark obscuritee
And in oblivion ever buried is;

which he compares to the famous passage:

che seggendo in piuma
In fama non si vien, ne sotto coltre,
Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di se lascia
Qual fummo in aer ed in acqua la schiuma.¹
Inf., XXIV, 47.

It seems to me, however, that this vague resemblance in the utterance of a commonplace cannot have much weight as a

¹ Essay on Spenser. In a note Lowell says: "It shows how little Dante was read during the last century that none of the commentators on Spenser notices his most important obligations to the great Tuscan."

piece of evidence as to the influence on Spenser.

In Todd's edition of Spenser we have a number of parallels given, by Todd, Upton, and others, often accompanied by the positive statement that Spenser actually imitated Dante. In the following pages we shall discuss the more important of these parallels.

In the first place, do we find in Spenser definite mention of Dante or of his works as in the case of Chaucer? In the Epistle to Gabriel Harvey, prefixed to the Shepheard's Calendar, in which the sources of that book are all given, he mentions Petrarch, Boccaccio, Mantuan, Sannazaro, Marot, "and divers others excellent both Italian and French poets, whose footing this author everie where followeth, yet so as few, but they be well sented, can trace him out." It seems hardly credible that if Spenser had really known and appreciated Dante's works, he would have

placed him merely in the last catch-all phrase.

So likewise in the Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, "expounding his whole intent in the course of this work" (*Faerie Queene*), he tells us how he followed first Homer, then Vergil, and after him Ariosto and Tasso.¹ Here likewise not a word about Dante in the very place we should expect it, if Spenser had made even a slight use of him.

There is one place, however, which has been supposed to refer directly to Dante, and that is the reference to the "sad Florentine" in the following lines:

Much richer then that vessell seem'd to be,
Which did to that sad Florentine appeare.
Visions of Bellay, XIII.

¹ The suggestion of Dean Plumptre as to the resemblance between this letter and Dante's Epistle to Can Grande della Scala I cannot accept. A closer parallel is furnished by the phrase, "Which work as I have well entered into, if God shall please spare my life that I may finish," etc., and the concluding paragraph of the *Vita Nuova*.

"It is difficult to see," says Plumptre, "to what passage in the Divine Comedy the allusion is except possibly Purgatory, II, 41."¹ Yet even if we could definitely locate the allusion, this would have no bearing on the question of Spenser's knowledge of Dante, for he translates lines literally from Du Bellay.²

We have seen, then, that in the first place neither in Italy nor in France, with whose contemporary literature Spenser was so thoroughly acquainted, was Dante influential enough to presuppose any great influence on the English poet; and in the

¹ E quei (the angel) sen venne a riva
Con un vasello snelletto e leggiero.

² Plus riche assez que ne se monstroit celle
Qui apparut au triste Florentin.

Del Balzo, vol. V.

Some have seen in these lines a reference to Charon's bark; others think Du Bellay refers to Petrarch's Canzone (XXIV), "Standomi un giorno, solo a la fenestra." Spenser's Visions of Petrarch is a translation of this Canzone.

La Boëtie likewise refers to Petrarch as a Florentine; see Montaigne's Essays, Livre I, ch. 28:

Si mon amour ne sent en sa douleur diverse
Du Florentin transi les regrets languoureux.

second place that there is not a single allusion to Dante by name. We are left then to discover not merely corroborative evidences of a known fact, as in the case of Shelley, for instance, but to establish that fact itself by circumstantial evidence.

By collecting all the parallels brought forward by Todd, Upton, Lowell, Grosart, Longfellow, and Cary, we could extend this discussion to great length. We cannot do more here, however, than select the most striking cases, as samples of the rest. If these do not convince us, the rest certainly would not.

All comparisons of Rosalind and Una to Beatrice as a symbol cannot prove any influence of Dante over Spenser, although the symbolism of early Italian poetry is visible in the latter's works.¹ Even so

¹ Speaking of Una, Aubrey de Vere (Grosart's ed. of Spenser, vol. I) says: "It is that conception of character at once Christian and womanly which

apparently close a parallel as in the lines

But as it falleth, in the gentlest hearts
Imperious love hath highest set his throne,¹

F. Q., Book III, c. 2, 23,

and

But love that is in gentle brest begun,
No ydle charms so lightly may remove,

can easily be explained by the conventional expression of contemporary lyrical poetry.

Coming now to individual passages, we select the following as most striking.

belongs to the earlier Italian poetry, more than to that of any other nation or of later times, in which the woman is so often lost in the goddess or the siren."

¹ Cf. *Inf.*, V., 100:

Amor che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende.

A closer parallel, however, is furnished by Guido Guinicelli's *Canzone* on Love and the Gentle Heart, from which Dante took inspiration in the beautiful sonnet,

Amore e cor gentil sono una cosa.

Michael Angelo expresses the same sentiments in his sonnets.

In Book I, Canto I, st. 13, we find the words:

This is the wandering wood, this *Errours* den,
A monster vile, whom God and man does hate,
of which Upton declares "it is very plain
that Spenser had in view Dante's lines,

Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza, etc."
Inf., XVII, 1 ff.

The same annotator (Upton) thinks that Spenser's Garden of Proserpina (F. Q., II, 7, 51) was suggested by the Wood of the Suicides (Inf., XIII), while a writer in Notes and Queries (5, VI, p. 7) compares the lines,

For he whose daies in wilfull woe are worne,
The grace of his creator doth dispise,
with Inferno, VII, 121 ff.:

Fitti nel limo dicon: Tristi fummo
Nell' aer dolce che dal sol s' allegra,¹ etc.

¹ There is no need here of seeking a particular source for Spenser's thought. The sin of *acedia* was universally known throughout the middle ages, and was discussed by Petrarch (De Contemptu Mundi, II), from whom Spenser was more likely to take the idea than from Dante.

In a note to Book IV, c. 1, 20,

It is a darksome delve farre under ground,
 Todd says: "Spenser probably had in mind
 the opening of the *Inferno*," a statement
 which I conceive to be insufficiently sup-
 ported.

Other points of resemblance are found
 in Ignaro, who

As he forward moovd his footing old,
 So backward still was turnd his wrincled face;¹

F. Q., I, 8 : 31.

in the phrases standing "as a stedfast
 tower,"² and

Began to tremble every limbe and vaine.³

F. Q., VI, 7-22;

¹ Cf. the Soothsayers in *Inf.*, XX, 13:

Chè dalle reni era tornato il volto,
 Ed indietro venir gli convenia.

² "Sta come torre ferma" (*Purg.*, V, 14). Todd refers to Milton's description of Satan standing like a tower (*P. L.*, I, 591), and says he may have been influenced by both Dante and Spenser; cf., however, Vergil:

Ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit. (*Æn.*, VII, 586).

³ Cf.

Si condusse a tremar per ogni vena. (*Purg.*, XI, 138)

while in the Teares of the Muses occur the following lines, which recall the similar famous passage in Dante:¹

Whoso hath in the lap of soft delight
 Been long time luld, and fed with pleasures sweet,

 Yf chaunce him fall into calamitie
 Findes greater burthen of his miserie.²

As for the description of the Garden situated on top of the high mountain (F. Q., VI, 10), to which attention has been drawn by Longfellow, there is no necessity

Ch' ella mi fa tremar le vene e i polsi (Inf., I, 90).
 Cf. also the similar expression in Arnaut Daniel:

Non ai membre nom fremisca.
 (Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 138.)

¹ Inf., V, 121; cf. note on p. 29.

² A little later than Spenser's time Wm. Drummond (1585-1649), of Hawthorne has the same thought:

But ah! what served it to be happy so,
 Sith passèd pleasures double but new woe!

Thomas Hughes in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) has a still closer parallel:

Of all misfortunes and unhappy fate
 Th' unhappiest seems to have been happy once.
 (Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., XI, 426.)

Cf. also Gavin Douglas:

The maist onsilly kynd of fortoun is,
 To have bene happy; Boetius teches so.

of seeking an origin in the Earthly Paradise of Dante. The whole description is far more in the manner of Tasso (G. L., XVI), just as the similar Garden in Muiopotmos resembles Politian's Island of Venus more than anything else.¹

In concluding this brief discussion of the possible relations of Spenser to Dante, I feel obliged to state that, after consulting all discussions accessible to me on this subject, and after having carefully read over the works of Spenser, although I have constantly met descriptions, reflections, symbols, and metaphors that have reminded me more or less of Dante, yet I have not received that feeling of assurance which would lead me to be-

¹ Most of the garden descriptions of the middle ages and the Renaissance are conventional. The basis of them all was probably the garden of Alcinous (Odyssey, VII), to which many details were added by troubadours, romans d'aventures, the Roman de la Rose, etc. There is hence a very evident family likeness in the description of gardens by Tasso, Ariosto, Politian, Marini, Spenser, Milton.

lieve with any degree of certainty that Spenser had ever consciously imitated Dante. My own opinion is that while he may have been more or less familiar with his name (through Chaucer and others), he never read any of his works.

More or less discussion has also been held as to Dante's influence on Shakespeare. Some years ago a long article was published by König on this subject in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, VII : 170 ff. But the desire of the author to prove his thesis at all costs was so evident, and the nature of his proofs so far-fetched, that the reader, far from being persuaded, involuntarily assumes a still more doubtful attitude.¹ Of still

¹ Some of the parallels cited by König are singularly inconclusive,—such as the references to the influence of the stars, the use of the turtle-dove as a symbol of faithful love, the “grim Boatman sung by poets” (*R. III.*, act I, 4), etc. He finds in the “undiscovered country” of Hamlet's soliloquy a reference to *Purg.*, I, 131:

Che mai non vide navicar sue acque
Uomo, che di tornare sia poscia esperto.

more untrustworthy character are the articles published in Blackwood's Magazine (vols. 135, 137, 139), in which an attempt to prove Dante's influence on Shakespeare is made chiefly from a study of his sonnets. The reliability of these articles may be gathered from such statements as the following: "The sentiments, figures, and phraseology in Shakespeare and Dante prove that Shakespeare got from Dante many ideas, figures, and forms of expression"; and again: "The identity of theme and purpose of the other poet (Dante) and of Shakespeare is by these statements established beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. Dante and Sidney seem to have been the poetic masters under whom the genius of Shakespeare was

A closer parallel, however, would be Catullus:

Qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum,
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam.

Cf. also Job x. 21: "Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death."

trained till it attained to its marvellously developed perfection.”¹

Now it is perfectly evident that Shakespeare was much interested in Italy; he places there the scenes of a number of his plays; he quotes not only Italian words but whole phrases, and the local color of the Merchant of Venice and the Taming of the Shrew is so accurate, that, says Brandes, “they cannot have been gleaned from books or conversation.”²

¹ The writer of the articles declares further that Shakespeare framed the structure of his sonnets on Dante; that the sonnets are the Vita Nuova of Shakespeare, who in the 129th sonnet descends to Hell and sums up Dante’s nine circles in nine epithets, and that

“that affable familiar ghost
Which nightly gulls him with intelligence”,

is none other than Beatrice. Farther than this the *chasse aux parallèles* could hardly go.

² William Shakespeare, vol. I. Elze strongly insists and Brandes is inclined to believe that Shakespeare had visited Italy. Many of his contemporaries in the drama had certainly done so,—Lyly, Nash, Daniel, Greene. The last-named mentions Dante more than once. In the debate between Follie and Love, he says: “Love springeth

Brandes assumes a knowledge of the Italian romantic epic poets by Shakespeare, and in drawing attention to certain parallels between him and Ariosto and Berni adds: "The agreement here cannot possibly be accidental. . . . He must thus, whilst writing Othello, have been interested in Orlando, and had Berni's and Ariosto's poems lying on his table." This may be, but the evidence does not seem to me entirely conclusive. Still less con-

of sodaine and sondrie causes, by receiving an apple as Cidippe; by looking out at a window as Scilla; by reading in a booke as the Ladie Francis Rimini." In Greene's case we have the rather singular instance of his attributing certain quotations to Dante which cannot be found in what we know of his works. Thus in the Farewell to Folly he quotes, or rather translates, eighteen lines of a diatribe against gluttony, beginning "Il vitio chi conduce." Again, in Mamillia he says: "I remember the saying of Dante that love cannot roughly be cast out, but it must easilie creepe, and a woman must seek by little and little to recover former libertee, wading in love like a crabbe." Ben Jonson expresses contemporary opinion when he says in Volpone: "Dante is hard, and few can understand him" (Koeppel).

clusive is the evidence adduced to prove a similar knowledge of Dante on the part of Shakespeare.

Coming to specific instances of parallels, perhaps the most striking are those lines which must have occurred independently to many minds, but which Lowell was first to call public attention to. "I find two passages in Dante," says he, "that contain . . . the exactest possible definition of that habit or quality of Hamlet's mind which justifies the tragic turn of the play, and renders it natural and unavoidable from the beginning. The first is from the second canto of the *Inferno*:

E quale è quei che disvuol ciò che volle,
 E per nuovi pensier cangia proposta,
 Sì che dal cominciar tutto si tolle;
 Tal mi fec' io in quella oscura costa
 Perchè pensando consumai la impresa
 Che fu nel cominciar cotanto tosta."

Again, in the fifth canto of the *Purgatorio*:

Chè sempre l' uomo in cui pensier rampolla
Sovra pensier, da sè dilunga il segno,
Perchè la foga l' un dell' altro insolla.

Dante was a profound metaphysician, and as in the first passage he describes and defines a certain quality of mind, so in the other he tells us its result in the character and life; namely, indecision and failure, the goal farther off at the end than at the beginning. It is remarkable how close a resemblance of thought, and even of expression, there is between the former of these quotations and a part of Hamlet's famous soliloquy:

Thus conscience (that is, consciousness) doth
make cowards of us all:
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action."¹

Another passage adduced as affording evidence of Dante's influence on Shake-

¹ Shakespeare Once More.

speare is found in the words of Claudio in *Measure for Measure* (III, 1):

Aye but to die and go we know not where,¹

where Shakespeare is supposed to sum up the characteristic features of the *Dantesque Inferno*. Yet this passage contains only the commonplaces of the mediæval conception of Hell, expressed in the various *Visions, Mysteries, and Miracle-plays*, and painted in the churches and cemeteries.² A nearer source, if any were needed, would be *Sackville's Induction*.

Many other briefer parallels have been pointed out by different writers, all of them utterly inconclusive, such as the ref-

¹ To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbèd ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds, etc.

Cf. the pathetic ballade made by Villon at the request of his mother:

Au monstier voy dont suis parroissienne
Paradis painct, où sont harpes et luz,
Et ung enfer où damnez sont boulluz.

erences to the javelin of Achilles,¹ to the bark of Charon,² to life being in the sere and yellow leaf,³ to the two keys of Prospero,⁴ to the expression "At war 'twixt will and will not,"⁵ the calling of an artist the ape of Nature.⁶ A rather singular coincidence is in the expression "top of judgment" (M. for M.), which corresponds exactly to Dante's *Cima di giudizio* (Purg., VI, 37).⁷

Most singular of all these coincidences, however, is the outlandish word "honorificabilitudinibus" (L. L. L., V, 1), of which the only other example that has

¹ 2 Henry IV, act V, 1. Cf. Inf., XXXI, 5.

² Troilus and Cressida, III, 2. Cf. Inf., III, 82 ff.

³ Macbeth, V, 3. Cf. Inf., III, 112 ff.

⁴ Tempest, I, 2. Cf. Inf., XIII, 58:

Tenni ambo le chiave

Del cor di Federico.

⁵ Measure for Measure, II, 2. Cf. Inf., VIII, 111:

Chè il sì e il no nel capo mi tenziona.

⁶ Winter's Tale, V, 2. Cf. Inf., XXIX, 139. Yet the ape was the conventional symbol of an artist; the Guild of the Goldsmiths in Berne is called *Zum Affen*.

⁷ Longfellow quotes from Du Cange the legal expression *apex juris*.

been found is in Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (II, 7): *sicut illud onorificabilitudinitale*.¹

But too much, perhaps, has already been said concerning a question the conclusion of which, I am sure, all impartial students must regard as a negative one. The result of all the discussions as to the relations between Shakespeare and Dante is well summed up in the remark of Mr. Furnivall: "My belief is that if Shakespeare had known Dante, he'd have so used him and so often as to have left no doubt on this point."²

¹ See article by Borinsky in *Anglia*, XVIII, p. 450 ff.

² *Notes and Queries*, 5 : X : 396.

CHAPTER IV.

MILTON.

IN the early part of the seventeenth century we find but few cases of mention of Dante on the part of the well-known English writers. Richard Burton (1577-1660) in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* quotes Dante as an authority for the location of hell in the centre of the earth. Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), speaking of miracles,¹ says that they are all the effect of Divine Power, without the coöperation of Nature, "or that I may use the elegant expression of Dante, it was such

a cui natura

Non scaldò ferro mai ni battè ancude."

Par., XXIV, 101.

¹ The Life of our Blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, Discourse XIV, Of the Miracles which Jesus Wrought.

While Sir Thomas Browne in the *Urn Burial* (IV) refers to the fact that while Dante places Plato and Socrates in hell, "Cato is found in no lower place than Purgatory"; and in the *Religio Medici* he alludes to the *Omo*, which according to Dante can be read *nel viso degli uomini*¹—a minute touch which goes far to prove that Browne had an actual knowledge of Dante.

As for Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, certain fortuitous coincidences have struck some writers; thus Longfellow, in his notes to his translation of the *Divine Comedy*, quotes several parallels, and as long ago as the eighteenth century Samuel Johnson declares it remarkable that the *Pilgrim's Progress* begins very much like the poem of Dante.² These references,

¹ *Purg.*, XXIII, 32.

² He adds, however; "Yet there was no translation of Dante when Bunyan wrote. There is reason to think he read Spenser" (Boswell, Hill's ed., vol. II, p. 238). Bunyan, however would

however, are unimportant and need not detain us here.

This paucity of mention, however, in England in the early seventeenth century is abundantly made up for in the case of the great poet of Puritanism.

Mr. Masson in his life of Milton expresses himself in no sparing terms concerning the efforts which have been made to prove that Milton borrowed largely from his predecessors. It certainly is not my purpose here to cast the slightest doubt on the poet's originality in the conception and carrying out of the *Paradise Lost*, but that the poem shows many traces of the influence of other great poets, at least in language, metaphors, and certain ideas, cannot be disputed. Mr. Masson himself admits this and says: "Original as the poem is, original in its entire more likely have been influenced by Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Guileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, although Mr. Furnivall is inclined to doubt even this (see edition in E. E. T. S.).

conception, and in every portion and passage, it is full of *flakes*—we can express it no otherwise—full of flakes from all that is greatest in preceding literature, ancient or modern.”

There is no question as to Milton’s acquaintance with the Divine Comedy. He began the study of Italian in 1632 and is said by his biographers to have been saturated with Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto. In 1638 he went to Italy, and spent the months of August and September in Florence, the birthplace of the Divine Poet.

There is a certain interest, if no particular value, in noting the general points of resemblance between the two great religious poets of Italy and England, in life, character, and literary activity.¹ Both were scholars, versed deeply in all the learning of their day; both were pro-

¹ Macaulay (Essays on Dante and Milton) and Lowell (Essay on Dante) have compared and contrasted the characters of Milton and Dante.

foundly religious, stern and severe in their condemnation of sin, and indignant at the corruption of the Church. Both were intensely patriotic and gave themselves up without reserve to serve what they considered the best interests of their country. Both passed the latter half of life in hardship and suffering, the one an exile and a beggar, the other blind. The declining years of Milton, however, were cheered by a knowledge of his glory as a poet; Dante died before his fame had become fully established, and his greatest work was not known in its entirety till after his death. Even in the order of their compositions we may find some resemblance between Dante and Milton. The earliest work of each was lyrical, and the *Canzoniere* may be compared to *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*, the *Vita Nuova* to *Comus*; and the *De Monarchia* (in which are discussed the relations between Church and State) to *The Reason of*

Church Government and other political and religious tractates of Milton. The resemblance between the Divine Comedy and Paradise Lost will be discussed at length later.

We may assume on *a priori* grounds that Milton would be attracted to the study of Dante. That he did know his works thoroughly is proved by a variety of evidence, such as definite mention, translations of certain passages, and more or less direct references. In the Reformation in England he translates the lines in the Inferno on the gift of Constantine to Sylvester:

Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope received of thee;¹

¹ Ahi Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre.

XIX, 115-117.

In his voyage to the moon Astolfo finds among other vain things "il dono"

Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Orlando Furioso, XXXIV, 80.

and in the sonnet to Mr. H. Lawes, "on the publishing his airs," the last three lines contain a reference to that beautiful scene in *Purgatory*¹ where the poet's friend Casella sings one of Dante's own songs:

Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing,
Met in the milder shades of *Purgatory*.

So, too, in *Lycidas* the indignation of St. Peter,

The pilot of the Galilean lake,

in general tone seems to have been suggested by *Paradiso*, XXVII, 22-27 and 40 ff. In both the English and the Italian we find reference to the keys of St. Peter and to the "grim wolf with privy paw" who

Daily devours apace and nothing sed;²

¹ *Purg.*, II, 106 ff.

² In *vesta di pastor' lupi rapaci*

Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.

Par., XXVII, 55.

while both end with a prophecy of coming punishment:

But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more;¹

The lines,

The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly,

are a free translation of the lines in *Paradiso*, XXIX, 106:

Sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
Tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento.

The chief evidence of Dante's influence on Milton naturally shows itself in the *Paradise Lost*. That Milton deliberately sought a model upon which to build the poem he had in mind is proved by the passage in *The Reason of Church Government*, in which he describes his doubts as to whether he should imitate the epic form exemplified by Homer, Vergil, Tasso, and Job, or the drama of Sophocles and

¹ *Par.*, XXVII, 61-63.

Euripides, or the pastoral drama as in the Song of Solomon, or the Apocalypse of Saint John. As Mr. Masson says, this passage is the record of Milton's meditations and hesitations with himself over his great project. In view of this frank confession concerning a model to imitate, we may take it for granted that the *Divina Commedia* had not occurred to Milton as imitable. Otherwise there would have been some mention of it in the above list.

Indeed Dante's poem is not such a one as could be well imitated in general plan, utterly unlike, as it is, the regular conventional epic of Homer, Vergil, and Tasso. Hence the omission of it in the above list does not prove that Milton was unacquainted with it at the time. On the contrary there seems to be reason to believe that his determination to do something more worthy of his genius than he had hitherto done may have been still further strengthened by his knowledge of

a similar determination on the part of Dante after the death of Beatrice. In the Introduction to Book III of *The Reason of Church Government* he promises to undertake a poem far in advance of anything he had yet written, and proclaims his purpose, with the help of the Eternal Spirit, "who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge," to prepare himself for his great task by "industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from such as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them." In general temper there seems to be a remarkable similarity here with the closing lines of Dante's *Vita Nuova*: "appresso a questo sonetto apparve a me una mirabil visione, nella quale vidi cose, che mi fecero proporre di non dir più

di questa benedetta, infino a tanto che io non potessi più degnamente trattare di lei. E di venire a ciò io studio quanto posso, sì com' ella sa veracemente. Sicchè, se piacere sarà di Colui, per cui tutte le cose vivono, che la mia vita per alquanti anni perseveri, spero di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d' alcuna. E poi piaccia a Colui, ch' è sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria della sua donna, cioè di quella benedetta Beatrice, che gloriosamente mira nella faccia di Colui, *qui est per omnia sæcula benedictus.*"¹

The difficulty of separating cases of mere coincidence from those which may indicate an actual imitation of Dante, which we have encountered in the case of Chaucer and Spenser, meets us also in the

¹ Tasso in similar language declares his intention to write something better than *Rinaldo* (see Solerti, *Vita di Tasso*, vol. I, p. 51): "Il qual se vedrà che questa sua prima fatica grata vi sia, s' affaticherà di darvi un giorno cosa più degna di venir nelle vostre mani" etc.

study of Milton's relations to Dante. Here again much must be attributed to the general stock of ideas and to what I have ventured to call the *materia poetica* of the time.¹ To such I attribute the general similarity between the universe of Dante and Milton, both based on the Ptolemaic system.² To such also may perhaps be attributed the resemblance between the Earthly Paradise of Dante and the Garden of Eden of Milton. Here, however, I am inclined to believe that the memory of Dante's divinely lovely landscape had no little influence on Milton's longer and more modern description. Both are on the top of a high plateau, steep and inaccessible. While, of

¹ The malicious accusations of Lauder and the exaggerated importance attributed to slight coincidences between Milton and other poets by Todd and Edmundson and others, should warn us to be cautious in such matters. See Masson, Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, section iv.

² To be more precise, Dante follows the older Ptolemaic system, Milton adopts the Alphonsine.

course, the use of groves and meadows, clear streams, enamelled flowers and singing birds, form the natural material for such descriptions, yet a closer examination of the details of both passages reveals a number of interesting resemblances. "Th' eternal spring" of Milton is the "primavera sempre" of Dante. "The Graces and the Hours in dance" find a parallel in the

Ninfe che si givan sole;

so Milton's lines,

Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin, gathering flow'rs
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world

P. L., IV, 268 ff.,

make use of the same fable to illustrate a similar description as Dante's

Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
La madre lei, ed ella primavera.

Purg., XXVIII, 49.

Compare further

The birds their quire apply
with

Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d' operare *ogni lor arte*,

and—to come down to single words or expressions—compare the “gentle gales” and the “attune the trembling leaves” of Milton with Dante’s “soave vento,” “aura dolce,” “le fronde tremolando,” and

le foglie
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime.

The important point to remember here is that all these parallels occur in the space of a few lines and in the description of the same place. No one, moreover, who has felt the beauty of Dante’s landscape will think it unreasonable to suppose that Milton had his mind charged with the details thereof, or that reminiscences thereof should be in his mind while writing his own poem.

One of the most striking points of re-

semblance between the *Divina Commedia* and the *Paradise Lost* is the discussion of questions of theology, philosophy, and science, which is to a certain extent a characteristic of both. Thus in Book VIII of *Paradise Lost*, Adam inquires concerning the celestial motions and is answered in detail by Raphael. Even the phenomenon of the "spots on the moon," which occupies so large a space in Canto II of *Paradiso*, is also explained by the Angel. The concluding words of the latter to the effect that man should be "lowly wise" and should not be too eager to know of heavenly things which are "too high" for him "to know what passes there," since it is not essential for the performance of man's duty to know the exact truth of all these theories of celestial motions,—

Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and fear,—

remind us of the similar warning by Beatrice against subtilizing theorists, espe-

cially preachers, who neglect the plain and simple lessons of the Gospel in order to gain applause by discussing topics far above their power to comprehend:

Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
 Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
 L' amor dell' apparenza e il suo pensiero

Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face
 Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse
 Dai predicatori, e il vangelo si tace, etc.

Par., XXIX, 85 ff.

The general form of these discussions in the *Paradise Lost* is like that of the *Divina Commedia*. The questions asked by Adam, the satisfaction felt at the information given, the new doubts that arise, and the thirst for knowledge never satisfied, ever desiring more and more, remind us involuntarily of Dante in his conversation with Vergil and Beatrice. It is not necessary to give more than a few examples here. Thus compare the following passages:

Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know,—

.

as one whose drought

Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites.

P. L., VII, 61 ff.

What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
Equal have I to render thee, divine
Historian? Who thus largely hast allay'd
The thirst I had of knowledge.

P. L., VIII, 5 ff.

.

Something yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy solution can resolve.

Ib., 13, 14.

Ed io cui nova sete ancor frugava.

Purg., XVIII, 4.

Maestro, il mio veder s' avviva
Sì nel tuo lume, ch' io discerno chiaro
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva.

Ib., 10-12.

Io son d' esser contento più digiuno
Diss' io, che se mi fossi pria taciuto,
E piu di dubbio nella mente aduno.

Purg., XV, 58-60.

Milton's idea (referring to the freedom
of the will),

“if I foreknew
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault ”
P. L., III, 117,

is expressed more picturesquely by Dante as follows:

Tutta è dipinta del cospetto eterno.
Necessità però quindi non prende,
Se non come dal viso, in che si specchia,
Nave che per corrente giù discende.
Par., XVII, 39-42.

The discussion of the beneficent influence of the obliquity of the ecliptic in producing the periodicity of the seasons is found in both Dante and Milton:

Some say he bid the angels turn askance
The poles of earth . . .
Else had the spring
Perpetual smil'd on earth with vernant flow'rs
Equal in days and nights, except to those
Beyond the polar circles.
P. L., X, 668 ff.

Vedi come da indi si dirama
L' obbliquo cerchio . . .
.
.
.
.
.
.
.

E se la strada lor non fosse torta,
 Molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,
 E quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta.
 Par., X, 13 ff.

The difference between Milton's Hell and Dante's Inferno is great,—the former being on a larger scale, vaguely described, and impressive in the use of vast distances; the latter being definitely outlined, minutely described, and almost geometrical in its details. Still it seems to me as if there must have been something more than mere coincidence in the use by Milton of

perpetual storms
 Of whirlwind and dire hail,

and the wretched souls who

starve in ice

Their soft ethereal warmth and there to pine
 Immovable, infixt and frozen round.¹

So, too, Dante may have colored, if not

¹ This resembles far more the frozen lake of Cocytus than the more general expressions of Shakespeare in *Measure for Measure* (see p. 75).

suggested, the references to the "harpy-footed furies,"

Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford,

and the line,

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades
of death,

sums up many of the fearful aspects of the *Inferno*. Of course, many of these details were due to Vergil and the classical authors, but I believe that the *Divina Commedia* was to some extent in Milton's mind as he wrote his description of Hell.

Other points of resemblance are the unconquerable defiance of Satan and Capaneus. Cf.

That glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me, Par. Lost, I, 110.

and

Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro,— . . .

.
E me saetti di tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra.
Inf., XIV, 52-60.

Looking down from sky upon the earth far
below:

From hence no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth, and the garden of God, etc.

Par. Lost, V, 257.

Sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco
Folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carico.
E più mi fôra scoperto il sito
Di questa aiuola; ma il sol procedea
Sotto i miei piedi.

Par., XXVII, 82.

Also,

L'aiuola . . .

Tutta m' apparve da' colli alle foci.

Par., XXII, 151.

The foul monster Sin in *Paradise Lost*,
II, 761—especially her beauty to those to
whom “familiar grown” she

pleased and with attractive graces won
The most averse—

reminds us of the siren (symbol of ava-

rice, gluttony, and licentiousness) in *Purg.*,
XIX:

Io la mirava, . . .

E lo smarrito volto

Come amor vuol, così le colorava,— (lines 10 ff.)

.

E qual meco si ausa

Rado sen parte, sì tutto l' appago (ll. 23-24, 31 ff.).

In the change of the fallen angels to snakes in Book X, of course, Milton found the first suggestion in Ovid, but the language used seems to point to some influence on the part of Dante also. Cf.

He would have spoke

But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue.

P. L., X, 517.

E la lingua, che avea unita e presta

Prima a parlar, si fende . . .

.

Si fuggì sufolando per la valle.

Inf., XXV, 133.

Scorpion and Asp, and Amphisbæna dire,
Cerastes horned, Hydros and Ellops drear,
And Dipsas.

Chelidri, jaculi e farèe
Produce, e cencri con amfesibena.

Inf., XXIV, 86.

Compare further the golden stairs to Heaven (P. L., III, 501 ff.) with the "scala celeste" in Paradiso, XXI, 28 ff. Compare also the grove

laden with fruit like that
Which grew in Paradise,

whereon the lost souls gazing are

parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
with the mystic trees in Purgatory, at the
sight of which the spirit who here expiates
the sin of gluttony—

In fame e in sete si rifà santa.

Purg., XXIII, 66.¹

¹In regard to resemblances in diction, metaphor, and ideas, the list is large. Some are doubtless due to mere coincidence; others, however, to my mind are more or less conscious imitations on the part of Milton. The following may serve as examples:

on a sudden op'n fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder.

P. L., II, 879.

E quando fûr ne' cardini distorti

Non rugghiò sì, ne si mostrò sì acra

Tarpeia.

Purg., IX, 133.

Hell trembl'd at the hideous name, and sigh'd

From all her caves.

P. L., II, 788.

La terra lagrimosa diede vento.

Inf., III, 133.

Things unattempted yet in prose or rime.

P. L., I, 16.

L' acqua che io prendo giammai non si corse. Par., II, 7.

Also Vita Nuova:

Spero di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d' alcuna. § xliii.

and twilight gray

Had in her sober livery all things clad. P. L., IV, 599.

Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto. Purg., XXVII, 71.

Now glowed the firmament

With living sapphires.

P. L., IV, 604.

battlements adorn'd

Of living sapphire.

II, 1049.

Dolce color d' oriental zaffiro.

Purg., I, 13.

While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright

Turn'd fiery red.

P. L., IV, 977.

Di quel color, che per lo sole avverso

Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,

Vid' io allora (that is, at words of St. Peter) tutto il ciel cosperso.

Par., XXVII, 28.

A wilderness of sweets.

P. L., V, 294.

Ma di soavità di mille odori,

Vi faceva un incognito indistinto. Purg., VII, 80.

And what surmounts the reach

Of human sense, I shall delineate so,

By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms. P. L., V, 571.

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno

.

e piedi e mano

Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende.

Par., IV, 40.

Therefore eternal silence be their doom. P. L., VI, 385.

Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa. Inf., III, 51.

So steers the prudent crane

Her annual voyage, borne on winds. P. L., VII, 430.

E come i gru van cantando lor lai

Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga. Inf., V, 46.

What seem'd fair in all the world seem'd now

Mean, or in her summ'd up. P. L., VIII, 472.

Ella è quanto di ben può far natura;

Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.

La Vita Nuova, § xix.

With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire,

If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear.

Non altrimenti ferro disfavilla

Che bolle.

Par., XXVIII, 89.

Qual ferro che bogliente esce del fuoco. *Ibid.*, I, 60.

accesi

Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte. Inf., IX, 120.

Pareva argente lì d' oro distinto.

Par., XVIII, 96.

Satan's spear:

to equal which the tallest pine

Hewn on Norwegian hills, etc.

P. L., I, 202.

La faccia sua mi pareva lunga e grossa

Come la pina di San Pietro a Roma. Inf., XXXI, 58.

Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks

In Vallombrosa.

P. L., I, 302.

Come d' autunno si levan le foglie.

Inf., III, 112.

Blossoms and fruits . . .

. . . with gay enamell'd colours mixt. P. L., IV, 149.

Oro ed argento fino e cocco e biacca

• • • • •

Fresco smeraldo, etc.

Purg., VII, 73.

Levell'd his evening rays.

P. L., IV. 543.

Contra i reggi serotini.

Purg., XV, 141.

The personification of the sun, turning suddenly

his course, at the "tasted fruit" of Adam and Eve, "as from Thyestean banquet" (P. L., X, 688), is like that of the river Arno, which, arrived at Arezzo, and disgusted at their currish character,—

a lor, disdegnosa, torce il muso. Purg., XIV, 48.

In P. L., X, 891, Eve is called "this fair defect of Nature"; so, too, an ugly body in the *Convito*, III, 4, is said to be due to a *peccato della natura*. Venus in P. L., XI, 589, is "Love's harbinger," while in Purg., I, 19, we find it spoken of as

Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta.

The description of storm and flood in P. L., XI, 737, 6, seems to show reminiscential or coincidental resemblances to Dante's famous description in Purg., V, 109 ff.

CHAPTER V.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

AFTER Milton's death another long period ensues in which we find little or no evidence of Dante's influence on English poetry. The temper of the Restoration and of Queen Anne's reign, so completely imbued with the spirit of contemporary French literature, was little likely to appreciate the Divine Poet. When we look to Italy and find how there the works of the great Florentine were crowded aside by the puerilities of Marini,¹ Chiabrera, and Filicaja, we need not be surprised at

¹ The depth of degradation to which Dante had fallen in Italy may be seen in the following execrable pun in Canto IX of *Adone*:

Altro il cui volo pareggiar non lice
Ben sull' Ali leggier tre mondi canta
E la beltà beata e Beatrice
Che da terra il rapisce, esalta e vanta.

the low level of Dantean influence in England.

Addison, although he visited Florence, does not mention Dante in his notes on Italy. Dryden and Pope had both modernized Chaucer, and may have learned from their predecessor some few things about Dante, but both are utterly without evidence in their works of anything which could even remotely be called influence.¹ Dryden's well-known perfunctory eulogy of Homer, Vergil, and Shakespeare,—

Three poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn,—

with its neglect of Dante's name, proves that for him the great Florentine was as if he did not exist.

As the eighteenth century wore away, however, we observe a change in this state

¹ In Pope's plan for a history of English Poetry (which he never carried out) the fifth division of Aera I is called School of Dante. See Courthope, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, Preface.

of things—a change closely connected with new, important movements in Italy. After a long period of depression in politics and literature, that country, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, began to revive. Patriotism awoke, and entered literature through Alfieri, Parini, and others. From now on Dante assumes a new rôle in his native land; he is no longer the great poet and religious teacher, but the prophet of a united fatherland. The leading patriots of modern Italy, without exception, made the *Divine Comedy* the object of their constant study. Many of these had certain relations with England and, as we shall see later, were powerful agents in the stirring up of a profound interest in Dante in that country.

The forerunner of this Dante revival in England is Thomas Gray (1716–1771). He visited Italy, and often mentions in his letters her scenery, her history, and her art. “I by no means wish to have been

born anything but an Englishman," he says, "yet I should rejoice to exchange tongues with Italy."¹ In his love for Italian literature he did not neglect Dante,² whom he quotes several times, not only from the Divine Comedy, but from the lesser known works.³ The influence of Dante on Gray's poetry is distinctly seen in two places, first in the Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, and secondly in the translation of the Ugolino episode from the Inferno.

The student of the Divine Comedy is immediately struck in reading the Elegy

¹ Letters, vol. II, p. 158.

² In a note to the Progress of Poetry he gives a brief summary of the influence of Italian literature in England, from Chaucer (who "was not unacquainted with the writings of Dante") down to his own time, when, the Italian school "having expired soon after the Restoration, a new one arose on the French model, which has subsisted ever since."

³ In his Observations on English Metre, speaking of the *Canzone*, he says that Dante "esteemed it the noblest species of poetry." So in Observations on Pseudo-Rhythm he again quotes Dante.

Written in a Country Churchyard with
the resemblance between the first stanza,

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me,

and the opening lines of the eighth canto
of Purgatory:

Era già l' ora che volge il dìsio
Ai naviganti e intenerisse il core
Lo dì c' han detto a' dolci amici addio;
E che lo novo peregrin d' amore
Punge se ode squilla di lontano,
Che paia il giorno pianger che si more.

In both passages we have the gradual on-coming of twilight, the music of the vesper bell, and a soft and tender melancholy which pervades the whole scene. That this resemblance is no mere fanciful conjecture is proved by the fact that Gray himself quotes, in a foot-note, the above passage of Dante.¹

¹ See Gosse's edition of Gray, vol. I, p. 73.

In his translation of the story of Ugolino (*Inferno*, XXXIII) Gray follows the example of Chaucer, and opens the way for the long line of Dante translators, which, beginning with the end of the eighteenth century, has continued uninterruptedly down to the present time. As this translation has only recently been made public, extracts are given here:

The Morn had scarce commenced when I awoke:
 My children (they were with me) sleep as yet
 Gave not to know their sum of misery,
 But yet in low and uncompleted sounds
 I heard them wail for Bread. Oh! thou art cruel,
 Or Thou dost mourn to think, what my poor Heart
 Foresaw, foreknew: oh! if thou weep not now,
 Where are thy Tears? too soon they had aroused 'em
 Sad with the Fears of Sleep, and now the Hour
 Of timely Food approached; when at the Gate
 Below I heard the dreadful Clash of Bars,
 And fast'ning Bolts? Then on my Children's Eyes
 Speechless my Sight I fix'd, nor wept, for all
 Within was Stone: they wept, unhappy Boys!
 They wept, and first my little dear Anselmo
 Cried, Father, why, why do you gaze so sternly?
 What would you have? yet wept I not, or answer'd

All that whole Day, or the succeeding Night
Till a new Sun arose with weakly Gleam,
And wan, such as mought entrance find within
That House of Woe. But oh! when I beheld
My Sons, and in four Faces saw my own
Despair reflected, either Hand I gnaw'd
For Anguish, which they constru'd Hunger;
straight

Arising all they cried, far less shall be
Our Suffering, Sir, if you resume your Gift;
These miserable Limbs with Flesh you cloath'd;
Take back what once was yours. I swallow'd
down

My struggling Sorrow, nor to heighten theirs;
That Day and yet another, mute we sate,
And motionless; oh, Earth! could'st thou not gape
Quick to devour me? yet a fourth Day came
When Gaddo, at my Feet out-stretched, imploring
In vain my Help, expir'd: e'er the sixth Morn
Had dawn'd my other three before my Eyes
Died one by one; I saw em fall; I heard
Their doleful Cries; for three Days more I grop'd
About among their cold Remains (for then
Hunger had reft me of my Eye-sight) often calling
On their dear Names that heard me now no more:
The fourth, what Sorrow could not, Hunger did.

He finished: Then with unrelenting Eye
Askaunce, he turn'd him, hasty to renew
The hellish Feast, and rent his trembling Prey.

From now on we meet more and more not merely the mention of Dante's name, but evidence of an actual knowledge of his works. We have now for the first time expression of critical opinions, at first for the most part adverse or cautious.

Thomas Warton (1722-1800), in his *History of English Poetry*, often mentions Dante and traces his influence on certain English poets; in connection with his discussion of Sackville's *Induction*, he gives an outline of the *Divine Comedy*. We have already seen that Samuel Johnson compared *Pilgrim's Progress* to Dante—evidence that he knew at least the outline of the poem.¹

Translations now begin to be made. In 1782 Hayley translated the first three

¹ Boswell seems to have been ignorant of Dante, for giving the lines

Sempre a quel ver c' ha faccia di menzogna, etc.,

he says: "quoted by Rhedi *de generatione insectarum* with the epithet of *divini poetæ*." (Hill's Boswell, vol. III, p. 229, note.)

cantos of the *Inferno*, and in his *Essay on Epic Poetry* (III, 79 ff.) addressed the Italian poet as follows:

At length, fair Italy, luxuriant land,
Where Art's rich flowers in earliest bloom expand,
Thy daring Dante his wild Vision sung
And rais'd to Epic pomp his native Tongue.
Down Arno's stream his new form'd music floats,
The proud vale echoing with his Tuscan notes.
See the bold Bard now sink and now ascend,
Wherever Thought can pierce or Life extend.

.
Sublimest Fancy now directs his march
To opening worlds, through that infernal arch
O'er whose rough summit awful words are read
That freeze each entering soul with hopeless dread.
Now at her bidding his strong numbers flow,
And rend the heart at Ugolino's woe.

.
Now to those notes that milder grief inspire,
Pathetic Tenderness attunes his lyre
Which, soft as Murmurs of the plaintive dove,
Tells the sad issue of illicit love.

In his closing lines Hayley echoes contemporary opinion of Dante—one of mingled admiration and disgust:

The patient reader, to thy merit just
 With transport glows and shudders in disgust;
 Thy Failings sprang from thy disastrous time,
 Thy stronger Beauties from a soul sublime.¹

In 1770 Boyd published the first complete translation of the *Inferno* into English, following this in 1785 with the *Purgatory* and *Paradise*. All these facts presuppose a widening circle of those interested in Dante, and were at once a symptom of and an influence in the revival of Dante. As yet, however, there was little real admiration for the great Italian, the uppermost feeling being one of disgust, or at most curiosity. Walpole compared him to a Methodist parson in *Bedlam*,² and says: "If I could admire

¹ In a note to this passage Hayley gives an account of Dante's life and works, and translates the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, above mentioned, as well as Dante's Sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti.

² Beers's *English Romanticism*, p. 235. John Wesley, who read Tasso and Ariosto, seems not to have known Dante.

Dante, which, begging Hayley's pardon, I cannot." Goldsmith in *The Present State of Learning* says that Dante spoke to barbarian people with methods adapted to their intelligence; and even Warton, who did so much toward the English Dante revival, remains on the stage of eighteenth-century criticism.¹

Yet in spite of such adverse criticism the power of Dante continued to make itself increasingly felt, not only in literature, but in art. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who died in 1792, painted his *Ugolino*, the first time in English art that a subject was taken from Dante. In the year

¹ This adverse criticism is likewise characteristic of the eighteenth century in France, and is well illustrated in Voltaire, who wrote to Bettinelli: "Je fais grand cas du courage avec lequel vous avez osé dire que le Dante était un fou"; and who expressed his own opinion as follows: "Les Italiens l'appellent 'divin'; mais c'est une divinité cachée: peu de gens entendent ses oracles; il a des commentateurs, c'est peut-être encore une raison de plus pour n'être pas compris." Cf. Oelsner, *Dante in Frankreich*.

1800 Blake made his famous series of illustrations, followed a little later by Flaxman. Thus at the threshold of the new century literature and art united in a dawning appreciation of the genius of the great Florentine.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DANTE REVIVAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE extraordinary interest in Dante which became so widespread in England in the nineteenth century is intimately connected with certain contemporary movements throughout the whole of Western Europe. First and foremost is that known as Romanticism, which for half a century had been slowly forming in England under Gray, Collins, Thomson, and others, and which in the early decades of the nineteenth century received new impetus from Germany. One of the important phases of Romanticism was a renewed interest in mediæval literature, history, and art. The publication of the

Percy Reliques in England, the Nibelungenlied in Germany, the Chanson de Roland in France, mark the beginning of a new epoch in the literatures of those countries. Italy could not furnish anything like these old ballads and epics; her literature had sprung fully formed into existence with the Divine Comedy, which, although essentially modern in its supreme art, summed up all phases of those middle ages, the study of which now began to monopolize to a large extent modern art and literature. No wonder, then, that a strong impulse was given to the study of Dante, not only in England, but in France and Germany.¹

¹ See Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*. Daniel Stern in *Goethe and Dante* says that the former was but little inspired by the latter. He did not have an antipathy for him, but the sense of the Divine Comedy was dark and obscure to him. He read it only in the translation of Streckfuss. Cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, Dez. 3, 1824: "Besonders ward der Dunkelheit jener Dichtungen gedacht, wie seine eigenen Landsleute ihn nie verstanden, und dass es einem Ausländer um so

Again, the enthusiasm for Dante, which was so intense in the early nineteenth century in Italy, was closely connected with the new patriotic movement which culminated many years later in the unification of that long divided country. He was constantly read, studied, and preached by such men as Mazzini, Foscolo, and Manzoni. He became a symbol for all that was patriotic, the prophet seer of a new nation.¹ His "familiar lines" became indeed "the foot-paths to the thought of Italy."

It was no mere chance that England became strongly influenced by this vener-

mehr unmöglich sei solche Finsternisse zu durchdringen." In France, Rivarol (through his translation of the *Inferno*, 1783) gave strong stimulus to the study of Dante, which was cultivated by Ginguené, Sismondi, Fauriel, Ozanam, and Ampère. Victor Hugo, who called Dante his divine master, "read him but little and understood him still less" (*Giorn. Stor. della Lett. It.*, vol. XXIX, p. 142).

¹ "Tell the Italian statesmen to study the Divine Comedy; at every crisis to regard it as the Romans did the Sibylline leaves." (Döllinger.)

ation for Dante. As the traditional land of freedom, she could not help sympathizing with the struggle against tyranny in Italy. Not only was this sympathy wide-spread among the people, but the government actually lent comfort, if not aid, to the movement for unification. In 1866 the famous expedition of the Thousand would have undoubtedly failed, had it not been for the English fleet in Sicilian waters, which covered the disembarkation of Garibaldi and his troops. Furthermore, England became a refuge for numbers of Italian exiles, whose patriotism had caused them to be banished from their native land. In the eighteenth century the Corsican patriot, General Paoli, had found in London welcome and warm friends, among the latter being Samuel Johnson. In the early part of the nineteenth century the number of exiles was large. Gabriel Rossetti came in 1825. Mazzini passed many years of his life in England;

while Foscolo lived and wrote most of his books there. Many of these men became prominent in literary and artistic circles, and by their acquaintance with leading writers, and by their own writings, helped largely to disseminate a knowledge of Dante. Rossetti taught in London University, and wrote a commentary on the *Divine Comedy*; Ugo Foscolo's articles on Dante in the *Edinburgh Review* were widely read, and still remain valuable.

All these things tended to bring about a knowledge and study of Dante far beyond anything in the past. Of course, the *Divine Comedy* itself, when once thoroughly known, was in need of no advocate. But in the past it had been but imperfectly understood — a few men sought in it episodes, beautiful passages, or reflections on life and religion. Ben Jonson's statement, "Dante is hard, and few can understand him," was and is true to-day, at least without much study. As

soon, however, as modern helps enabled him to be known in the entirety of his genius, he became the object of veneration; of no poet was it ever truer—

For you must know him, ere to you
He will seem worthy of your love.

We have from now on an increasing number of aids to the study of Dante. Cary's translation (far better than Boyd's), published in 1812, was epoch-making;¹ henceforth, it was said, "no cultivated man had an excuse for not knowing Dante." The lectures of Coleridge; the essays of Carlyle, Macaulay, Church, and Lowell; the scholarly labors of men like Barlow, Lord Vernon, Moore, and Norton, keeping pace with the similar labors

¹ Coleridge declares that the language of Cary's translation is "Dantesque even in that in which the Florentine must be preferred to our own English giant (Milton)." Ruskin said that if he knew only English and had to choose between Cary and Milton, he should choose the former; while Dante, according to Macaulay, owes more to Cary than ever poet owed to translator.

of Witte in Germany, Scartazzini in Switzerland, and Rajna in Italy, have shed a flood of light not only on the works of Dante, but on his life and exile, hitherto largely shrouded in legend. From the very beginning we notice a new attitude toward Dante. It is true that the hostile criticism of the eighteenth century still lingered on. Thus Walter Savage Landor considered the *Divine Comedy* the "most immoral and impious book ever written."¹ Leigh Hunt, who wrote the *Story of Rimini and Stories from the Italian Poets*, says some severe things about the *Divine Comedy*, which heaps "absurdity on absurdity, too much of it, alas! being infernal tragedy"; while Scott confesses he "had little pleasure in the *Divine Comedy*"; the plan, he said, appeared to him unhappy; the personal malignity and

¹ Plumptre, V, p. 134. In his later works, however, Landor shows the influence of Dante and speaks more favorably of him.

strange mode of revenge presumptuous and uninteresting.¹ Even Coleridge, who was the first English critic to give a profound analysis of Dante's greatness, and whose lectures did so much to spread an interest in the *Divine Comedy*, speaks of the "comparative failure" of Dante in effecting a combination of poetry with doctrines, "which is one of the characteristics of the Christian Muse," and mentions his occasional fault of becoming "grotesque from being too graphic without imagination. . . . Indeed he is sometimes horrible rather than terrible . . . in other words, many of his images excite bodily disgust, and not moral fear."²

Yet these discordant voices were soon drowned in the chorus of praise uttered by practically all the great English men of letters. This ever-increasing influence

¹ Lockhart's *Life*, vol. II, p. 10.

² In later days Kingsley thought the *Divine Comedy* was the "opprobrium of the Middle Ages."

was shown not only in literature, but in music¹ and painting as well. In the latter field of art Reynolds and Blake had opened the way in which afterwards Watts, Burne-Jones, Leighton, and Rossetti produced works of such greatness and beauty.²

The interest in Dante was still further accelerated by the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, and even by the Oxford Movement.³ The enthusiasm was not confined to England, but, to paraphrase a sentence of Gladstone, "the great Poet in his immortal youth traversed the ocean as he floated buoyantly down the centuries, everywhere a blessing to mankind."⁴

¹ Sir Charles Hall set to music certain scenes from Purgatory and the story of Francesca da Rimini; the latter subject was likewise treated by Tschaikowsky. J. F. Bridge gave a musical setting to the Orazione Domenicale.

² For Dante in painting see Ludwig Volkmann's *Iconografia Dantesca*.

³ Plumptre, V, p. 148 ff.

⁴ From a postal card written to the writer.

As early as 1843, Thomas William Parsons published his translation of the first ten cantos of the *Inferno*; in 1846 another American, Joseph Garrow, translated the *Vita Nuova*; while in 1819 Professor Ticknor gave the first special lectures on Dante at Harvard University. From that time on America has devoted a special cult to Dante, culminating in the formation of the well-known Dante Society in Cambridge, and in the two excellent collections of Dante books at Harvard and Cornell.¹

One of the most striking features of this devotion to Dante is the intense personal affection which the Florentine poet

¹ It is not within the scope of this book to discuss the influence of Dante on the American poets. It is well known, however, how great that influence was in the case of Lowell and Longfellow. The latter's translation of the *Divine Comedy* will be looked upon perhaps as his most noteworthy achievement, while in creative poetry of his own nothing equals the beauty of his sonnets on Dante.

has awakened in the heart of his admirers. There is nothing like it, I think, in the history of literature. Even Vergil, to whom Dante addresses the well-known words,

Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore:
Tu se' colui, da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore
(*Inf.*, I, 85-87),

and to whom he constantly refers as "master," "my more than father," was to him more of a symbol, a legendary figure, than a personal friend; Homer is too far back among the misty mountaintops of antiquity ¹ to win our love, though he has our unbounded admiration; Shakespeare, vast, serene, is too impersonal; and the reading of Milton, whose "soul is like a star and dwells apart," while it is a celestial pastime, as Charles Lamb says, is something which the dullard mind is only equal to at rare intervals.

¹ Yet Humboldt declared that on his dying bed a line from Homer would give him comfort.

In the case of Dante, the man as well as the book wins not only admiration, but love.¹ "It is because they find in him a spur to noble aims," says Lowell, "a secure refuge in that defeat which the present always seems, that they prize Dante who know and love him best. He is not merely a great poet, but an influence, part of the soul's resources in time of trouble."² Macaulay, writing from Florence, Nov. 3, 1838, says: "Few persons are more saturated than I am with the spirit of the *Divine Comedy*"; while Milman in a letter to Longfellow declares: "I have been from my youth up a worshipper of Dante." Hallam's love for

¹ Cf. Carducci: "Poichè Dante anzi tutto è un grandissimo poeta; e grandissimo poeta è perchè grand' uomo; è grand' uomo, perchè ebbe una grande coscienza." (*L' Opera di Dante.*)

² Essay on Dante. Similar language is used by Dean Church at the close of his admirable essay on Dante: "They know how often they have found, in times of trouble, if not light, at least that deep sense of reality, permanent though unseen, which is more than light can always give."

Dante was profound; his father says of him: "No poet was so congenial to the character of his own reflective mind; in none other could he so abundantly find that disdain of flowery abundance, that perpetual reference of the sensible to the ideal, that aspiration for somewhat better and less fleeting than earthly things, to which his inmost soul responded." Ruskin, who has introduced Dante so lavishly in his works, who has thrown so illuminating a light on the *Divine Comedy*, and whose admiration and love run the whole gamut of eulogistic statement, declares that Dante "is the central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest."¹ Carlyle, in one of his own outbursts of sombre eloquence, cries out: "True souls

¹ *Stones of Venice*, vol. II, p. 202. For other remarks by Ruskin on Dante see *Comments of John Ruskin on the Divina Commedia* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.).

in all generations of the world who look on this Dante will find a brotherhood in him; the deep sincerity of his thoughts, his woes and hopes, will speak likewise to their sincerity; they will feel that this Dante, too, was once a brother";¹ while Gladstone, whose life-long study of Dante is well known, wrote to Signor Giuliani: "The reading of Dante is not merely a pleasure, a *tour de force*, or a lesson; it is a vigorous discipline for the heart, the intellect, the whole man. In the school of Dante I have learned a great part of that mental provision (however insignificant it may be) which has served me to make the journey of human life up to the term of nearly seventy-three years";²

¹ Heroes and Hero-worship. "Dante," he again says, "speaks to the noble, the pure, and great in all times and places."

² Morley's Life of Gladstone, vol. I, p. 202. In the volume of translations made by Gladstone in collaboration with Lord Lyttelton are found versions of the story of Ugolino (Inf., XXXIII, 1-78), of Dante's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer

and in a letter to Mrs. Gladstone, five years after they were married, he writes: "There is a beautiful little sentence in the works of Charles Lamb concerning one who had been afflicted: 'He gave his heart unto the Purifier, and his will unto the Sovereign Will of the Universe.' But there is a speech in the third canto of the *Paradiso* of Dante, spoken by a certain Piccarda, which is a rare gem. I will only quote this one line:

In la sua volontade è nostra pace.

The words are few and simple, and yet they appear to me to have an inexpressible majesty of truth about them, to be almost as if they were spoken from the very mouth of God. It so happened that (unless my memory much deceives me) I first read that speech on a morning early in the year 1836, which was one of trial. I was profoundly impressed and power-

(*Purg.*, XI, 1-21), and of the speech of Piccarda (*Par.*, III, 70-87). *Plumptre*, V, p. 156.

fully sustained, almost absorbed by these words. They cannot be graven too deeply on the heart."¹

¹ Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. I, p. 215. On his engagement to Mrs. Gladstone, we are told that he gave the following passages from Dante for "canons" of their living:

Le frondi, onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
Dell' Ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto,
Quanto da lui a lor di bene è pôrto.
(Par., XXVI, 64-6.)

and

In la sua volontade è nostra pace.
Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si muove.
(*Ibid.*, III, 85.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE POETS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the preceding chapter we have discussed in general terms the revival of an interest in Dante in England during the nineteenth century. It remains in this and the following chapters to trace that influence in the works of the various poets. Almost without exception these poets, great or small, have some reference to the great Florentine. Good old commonplace Samuel Rogers in his *Italy* speaks of

Ravenna, where from Dante's sacred tomb
He (Byron) had so oft, as many a verse declares,
Drawn inspiration,

and alludes to the story of the *Sasso di Dante*,

that ancient seat,
 The seat of stone that runs along the wall,
 South of the Church, east of the belfry tower,
 where,

In the sultry time
 Would Dante sit conversing, and with those
 Who little thought that in his hand he held
 The balance, and assigned at his good pleasure
 To each his place in the invisible world.

Among the great poets of the century Coleridge, who practically introduced German literature into England—was likewise one of the first to appreciate the greatness of Dante, and he was largely instrumental in spreading a knowledge of the Italian poet in England. He gave lectures on him, and it was through a eulogistic mention of his in one of these that the first impulse was given to the popularity of Cary's well-known version of the *Divine Comedy*. Coleridge refers several times to Dante in his prose works. In the *Anima Poetæ* he calls the eighteenth Canzone of Dante "a poem of wild and

interesting images intended as an enigma—and to me an enigma it remains spite of all my efforts”; and twelve years later he says: “I begin to understand the above poem after an interval from 1805, during which no year passed in which I did not peruse, I might say construe, parse, and spell it, twelve times at least, such a fascination it had for me, in spite of its obscurity.”

It is undoubtedly true that no English poet before Coleridge had given to Dante so much careful and persistent study; and in this respect he is the forerunner of many other poets of the succeeding years, notably Shelley, Browning, and Tennyson.

The body of Coleridge's poetry is small and we do not find much if any evidence of a direct influence on the part of Dante.

It would be strange if Southey, who in seeking subjects for his poetry laid under requisition the whole world, ancient,

mediaeval, and modern, the West, the Orient, and the far-away isles of the sea—did not show at least some knowledge of Dante. That he was not a profound and enthusiastic student of the *Divine Comedy* may perhaps be inferred from the fact that in the many volumes of his *Commonplace Book*, which is full of passages from Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and other literatures, we do not find Dante's name,—at least it is not in the index. Yet in the *Vision of Judgment*, which is full of reminiscences of Chaucer, Milton, and especially Spenser,¹ and in which we have the old conventional paraphernalia of dreams, of stately females as guides, of visitation of the heavenly kingdoms, and the meeting with the spirits of great men of all ages, we find several allusions to Dante. Thus

¹ He calls Spenser his

Master dear,
He on whose song, while yet I was a boy,
My spirit fed, attracted by its kind.

he like Dante is encouraged and told that
he is to see the secrets of the other world.
Be of good heart, it said, and think not that thou
art abandoned;
For to thy mortal sight shall the grave unshadow
its secrets,
Such as of yore the Florentine saw Hell's perilous
chambers,
He who trod in his strength; and the arduous
mountain of Penance
And the reign of Paradise, sphere within sphere
intercircled.

Over the gate of Heaven he saw an in-
scription which Southey himself says was
modelled on Dante's "admirable passage":
This is the Gate of Bliss, it said, through me is
the passage
To the City of God, the abode of beautiful spirits;

.
Ye who would enter
Drink of the well of life.

Other reminiscences of Dante may be
perhaps found in the use of light effects,
such as

Another minister of bliss
With his own radiance clothed as with a vest.

which is like many passages in the Paradise of Dante.¹

Wordsworth in one of his letters says: "The poetry of Dante and Michael Angelo proves that if there is little majesty and strength in the Italian tongue, the fault is in the authors and not in the language." He mentions him twice in his letters, and praises him highly in his sonnet written at Florence, the theme of which is suggested by the *Sasso di Dante*, that stone on which Dante was supposed to have sat while watching the building of Giotto's tower:

Under the shadow of a stately Pile,
The dome of Florence, pensive and alone,
Not giving heed to aught that passed the while,
I stood and gazed upon a marble stone,
The laurell'd Dante's favorite seat. A throne
In just esteem, it rivals: though no style
Be there of decoration to beguile
The mind, depressed by thought of greatness flown.
As a true man, who long had served the lyre,

¹ Cf. Psalm civ. 2: "Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment."

I gazed with earnestness, and dared no more.
But in his breast the mighty Poet bore
A Patriot's heart, warm with undying fire.
Bold with the thought, in reverence I sate down,
And, for a moment, filled that empty Throne.

Again, in the well-known sonnet on the Sonnet, after speaking of the use of this form of poetry by Shakespeare, Petrarch, Tasso, Camoëns, he adds:

The sonnet glittered a gay myrtle leaf
Amid the cypress with which Dante crowned
His visionary brow.

There is a certain perfunctoriness about these references, however, and in general Wordsworth shows but little trace of Dante's influence in his poetry. Nor, indeed, could it well be otherwise. The high-priest of Nature-worship, narrow as he was in many respects, could scarcely take much from the poet who lived in an age when the modern view of Nature was absolutely unknown.¹

¹ How far from a genuine appreciation of Dante's stupendous genius Wordsworth was, may be seen in his remark that "Ariosto and Tasso are very

Keats's acquaintance with Dante was first made through Cary's translation, which he admired very highly, and a copy of which, with the best passages marked, he gave to Miss Brawn.¹ Two passages he especially admired, that which described the last voyage of Ulysses and that which told the story of Francesca da Rimini. In regard to the former, Leigh Hunt says (*Indicator*, XVII): "Talking the other day

absurdly depressed in order to elevate Dante." Few critics of the present day would put these three poets in the same class, as was once the custom.

¹ In a letter to Thomas Keats, June 17, 1818, Keats writes: "You say I must study Dante. Well, the only books I have with me are those three little volumes (Cary). I read the fine passage you mention a few days ago"; and to Benjamin Bailey he writes, June 10, 1818: "If I take any books with me it shall be those miniature volumes of Cary, for they will go into the aptest corner." Leigh Hunt tells us that later when he went to Italy he read Dante in the Italian, "which he learned with surprising quickness." In the first days he began to read Alfieri, but dropped the book at the words,

Misero me, sollievo a me non resta
Altro che 'l pianto ed il pianto è delitto.

with a friend (the late Mr. Keats) about Dante, he observed that whenever so great a poet told us anything in addition or continuation of an ancient story, he had a right to be regarded as a classical authority. For instance, said he, when he tells us of that characteristic death of Ulysses . . . we ought to receive the information as authentic and be glad that we have more news of Ulysses than we looked for."

Keats was especially filled with admiration for the episode of Francesca da Rimini. In a letter to Fanny Brawn he writes: "The fifth canto of Dante pleases me more and more; it is that one in which he meets Paulo (*sic*) and Francesca. I had passed many days in rather a low state of mind, and in the midst of them I dreamt of being in that region of Hell. The dream was one of the most delightful enjoyments of my life. . . . I tried a sonnet on it; there are fourteen lines in it, but nothing of what I felt.

Oh, that I could dream every night."
 The sonnet written in the back of the
 copy of Cary, mentioned above, tells
 how, in sleep, his spirit fled away,

Not to pure Ida with its snow-cold skies,
 Nor unto Tempe where Jove grieved a day,
 But to that second circle of sad Hell,

Where in the gust, the whirlwind, and the flaw
 Of rain and hail-stones, lovers need not tell

Their sorrows;—pale were the sweet lips I saw,
 Pale were the lips I kissed, and fair the form
 I floated with, about that melancholy storm.

There is not much evidence of a direct
 borrowing on the part of Keats. Of
 the lines,

His prayer he saith, this patient, holy man,
 Then takes his lamp, and riseth from his knees,

.
 The sculptur'd dead on each side seem to freeze
 Emprisoned in black, purgatorial rails,

Hunt says: "The germ of the thought,
 or something like it is in Dante, when
 he speaks of the figures that perform
 that part of columns in arches."¹ So

¹ Purg., X. See Buxton-Forman's ed. of Keats,
 vol. II. p. 72.

also Mr. Buxton-Forman, speaking of the lines in *Endymion*,

ravishment more keen
Than Hermes' pipe, when anxious he did lean
Over eclipsing eyes,

says: "The story of Argus seems to have impressed Keats vividly. See his sonnet,

As Hermes once took to his feathers light.

Probably this vivid impression was derived from Cary's Dante, *Purgatory* 32, which he certainly read attentively and on the fly-leaf of which he wrote that very story from Ovid."¹ These, however, are mere conjectures, as is likewise the probable influence of Dante in the lines,

When swarms of minions ever nestle
Their silver bellies on the pebbly sand,
If you but scantily hold out the hand,
That very instant not one will remain.²

¹ Mr. Buxton-Forman likewise thinks that Keats, in the line,

By the melancholy corners of thy mouth.

refers to Dante's portrait.

² Cf. *Par.*, V, 100-103:

Come in peschiera, ch' è tranquilla e pura,
Traggoni i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori,
Per modo che lo stimin lor pastura.

The man of letters, however, who shows the most of Dante's influence in these early years of the nineteenth century is Leigh Hunt, although he by no means was an enthusiastic lover of Dante. His article on Dante in his *Stories from the Italian Poets* comes very near to damning the great Florentine by faint praise. The worst thing he did, however, to Dante was to expand the exquisite episode of Francesca da Rimini (*Inf.*, V) into a weak, romantic story in verse, "The Story of Rimini, or Fruits of a Parent's Falsehood," as like unto the original "as moonlight is to sunlight, or as water is to wine." This is the way in which this paraphrase of the noblest love-episode of all poetry begins:

'Tis morn and never did a lovelier day
 Salute Ravenna from its leafy bay;
 For a warm eve and gentle rains at night
 Have left a sparkling welcome for the light,—

and so on for nearly a hundred lines.

Nothing could be more at variance with Dante's conciseness and austerity than this long romantic description steeped in an atmosphere of weak sentimentality. All that follows bears the same stamp; conventional figures advance on the stage, among them the

Young father of Italian song,
Guy Cavalcanti of a high-born race;

fair women, with their lovely

Cheeks and lips and eyes,
The locks that fall, and bosom's balmy rise;
squires, knights, heralds, pages, and

Steeds milk-white and azure-draped,
Arabian-bred.

The plot is told in bald, commonplace lines:

The truth was this: the bridegroom had not come,
But sent his brother Paolo in his room;

which of course, according to the traditional story, brings about the mutual

love and destruction of both. Hunt introduces the betrayer of their love in the person of a fop, a weak imitation of Iago, who

Watching his time one day, when the grim lord
Had left her presence with an angry word,
And giving her a kind adoring glance
The coxcomb feigned to press her hand by chance;
The princess gaz'd a moment with calm eyes,
Then bade him call the page that fanned away the
flies.

Enraged at this repulse, he determined on revenge, watched and caught Paolo and Francesca together. Francesca had been reading the story of Launcelot, when Paolo came along:

"May I come in?" said he, it made her start,
That smiling voice; she color'd, pressed her heart,
A moment as for breath, and then with force
And usual tone, "O yes—certainly";

a scene which seems to have been taken bodily from a novel of Jane Austen or Miss Burney; it would be a libel on the good

taste of these writers, however, to continue the comparison in what follows:

With this the lovers met, with this they spoke,
With this sat down to read the self-same book,
And Paulo, by degrees, gently embraced
With one permitted arm her lovely waist,
And both their cheeks, like peaches on a tree,
Came with a touch together thrillingly,
And o'er the book they hung, and nothing said,
And every lingering page grew longer as they read.
As thus they sat, and felt with leaps of heart
Their color change, they came upon the part
Where fond Genevra, with her flame long nurst,
Smil'd upon Launcelot, when he kiss'd her first:
That touch, at last, through every fibre slid;
And Paulo turn'd, scarce knowing what he did,
Only he felt he could no more dissemble,—
And kiss'd her, mouth to mouth, all in a tremble.

The inevitable happens. Francesca's husband

came to the summer house's door,
Which he found shut, paus'd till a doubt was o'er;
Paus'd and gave ear. There was a low sweet
voice:—

The door was one that open'd without noise;

And opening it, he looked within and saw
 Nought hearing, nought suspecting, not in awe
 Of one created thing in earth or skies,
 The lovers interchanging words and sighs,
 Lost in the heaven of one another's eyes.
 "To thee it was my father wedded me,"
 Francesca said:—"I never lov'd but thee,
 The rest was ever but an ugly dream."
 "Damn'd be the soul that says it!" cried a scream.
 Horror is in the room,—shrieks,—roaring cries,
 Parryings of feeble palms,—blindly shut eyes:

.

Hot is the dagger from the brother's heart,
 Deep in the wife's:—dead both and dash'd apart.

But enough has been given to show the infinite distance there is between the extraordinary conciseness, the heart-piercing pathos, and the refined reticence of Dante and all this long-drawn-out mawkish sentimentality. In the whole four cantos there are but few reminiscences of the language and figures of Dante; there is none of his atmosphere. Hunt tells us but little more than he found in the *Inferno*, and spins out his long paraphrase

by means of descriptions of processions, banquets, and natural scenery.¹

¹ The story of Francesca has fascinated the minds of all ages since Dante first gave it immortality. In recent times it has been often treated. Byron, who translated the episode from the *Inferno*, planned a five-act drama on this theme, but never carried it out. In 1856 George W. Boker of Philadelphia published his play (which had already won success on the stage), while the last few years have seen similar productions by Stephen Philips, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and Marion Crawford. Sardou in his preposterous melodrama, "*Dante*," has introduced the story as a detail.

CHAPTER VIII.

BYRON.

THE name of Byron is indissolubly connected with that of Italy. His numerous visits and long sojourn in her various cities, his sympathy for her in her struggle for freedom and unity, all these are so well known as to need no more than mere mention here.¹ His works are full of reminiscences of this land he loved so well. Childe Harold celebrates in immortal verse her monuments, her shrines, her great men, and her wretched political condition. All the world knows the famous lines in Canto IV, which he translates from Filicaja:

¹ Lüder, Byron's Urtheile über Italien; Programm, Dresden, 1893, cf. Eng. Stud. XXI, 392.

Italia! oh, Italia! thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty, which became
A funeral dower of present woes and past,
On thy sweet brow is sorrow plough'd by shame,
And annals graved in characters of flame.
Oh, God! that thou wert in thy nakedness
Less lovely or more powerful, and could'st claim
Thy right, and awe the robbers back, who press
To shed thy blood, and drink the tears of thy
distress.

For the great poets of Italy Byron entertained a profound admiration, and their influence is seen scattered throughout the length and breadth of his own work. Besides the innumerable examples of minor influence, he drew from them the subject of his works, such as the Lament of Tasso, and Morgante Maggiore, the latter translated from Pulci.

References to and imitations of Dante in Byron's poetry are by no means infrequent. If we take only those passages which are evident to all, we have a body of facts large enough to prove the profound influence of the great Florentine.

In recent years, however, attempts have been made to prove that practically everything Byron wrote in his later years was taken from the Divine Comedy. This is especially true of the article by Signor Dobelli,¹ in which the parallels cited are so far-fetched as to cast discredit on this method of literary investigation. Thus the writer, comparing the songs of Byron addressed to Miss Chaworth with the Vita Nuova, finds affinity of life and character from the fact that both poets fall in love when young, both are combated by critics, both marry noble ladies and are unhappy. Byron like Dante is an exile, and as Dante calls himself *un legno senza vela* (Convito, I, 31), so Byron speaks of himself

As a weed
Flung from the rock;

and in Childe Harold (IV, 23) represents Dante's feelings in exile. Finally, both

¹ Giornale Dantesco, vol. VI, p. 145 ff.

are full of poetic ardor, both are tired of life, and both desire peace. In *Farinata* (*Inf.*, X, 34 ff.) Dobelli finds the prototype of the Corsair, while according to him Capaneus has influenced Byron's *Lucifer* in *Cain*,¹ and the *Giaour*. The latter furthermore, in the scene where he is depicted as bending over Hassan, reminds Dobelli of Ugolino, while in the lines from the *Siege of Corinth*,

I come from my rest to him I love best,
That I may be happy and he may be blessed,

¹ The line,

Life that leads to death (*Cain*, II, 2),
may be a reminiscence of Dante's

Vivere ch' è un correre alla morte
(*Purg.*, XXXIII, 54),

which has been so beautifully expanded by Leopardi in his *Canto Notturmo di nu Pastore Errante dell' Asia*. A very curious parallel to this thought is furnished by William Dunbar's line,

Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid

(quoted in the Introduction to Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*, E. E. Text Soc., p. xliii). So, too, the brightness of Beatrice's countenance, so often referred to in the *Paradiso*, is recalled by the lines,

Like Adah's face: I turn from earth and heaven
To gaze on it. (*Ibid.* II, 2.)

he sees a reference to Beatrice's descent to Limbo.

It is in Parisina, however, that Dobelli sees the greatest influence of Dante. "Both in subject and development," says he, "it is taken in large part from the episode of Francesca da Rimini."¹ There is more probability in the parallel drawn by Monti between Ugolino in the Tower of Famine and the Prisoner of Chillon.² Yet Byron's poem, written in two days at Ouchy, after having just visited the Castle of Chillon, does not resemble that of Dante any more than would be natural

¹ Byron, however, got the story from Gibbon's *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. Like the *Phèdre* of Racine and Isabella in Alfieri's *Philip II.*, Parisina loves her stepson, her secret is discovered, and she is slain. There is no need of seeking a source in Dante, although the line,

Thou gav'st and may'st resume my breath,
may have been suggested by Dante's

Tu ne vestisti
Queste misere carni; e tu le spoglia.
(*Inf.*, XXXIII, 62.)

² See Monti, *Studi Critici*.

from two such similar subjects. The verbal resemblances are few, the most striking being,

I had no thought, no feeling; none,
Among the stones I stood a stone,

which seems to point to Dante's line,

Io non piangeva; sì dentro impietrai.

Inf., XXXIII, 49.

Having thus at too great length, perhaps, discussed the exaggerated statements made concerning Dante's influence on Byron, we now turn to evidence of a more convincing nature.

As we have seen, Byron was deeply imbued with love for Italian literature. His knowledge of it began while at school at Harrow, and was continued later at Cambridge, although it was not until 1809 that he learned to speak the language. In 1813 he writes in his diary: "I hope to settle in Italy or the East and drink deep of the literature and language of both." He became acquainted with

Dante's *Inferno* early; in a letter dated 1806 he writes: "or rather let me invoke the shade of Dante to inspire me, for none but the author of the *Inferno* could properly preside over such an attempt." In the three books of the *Corsair* (1814) he takes as mottoes passages from the story of Francesca da Rimini in the *Inferno*. It would seem that up to this date he knew neither the *Purgatory* nor the *Paradiso*; which, being far more difficult and less popular than the *Inferno*, would naturally be learned later.

Byron speaks very highly of Dante both in his letters, conversations, and poetry. He often compared his own life to that of Dante. There is a vast difference, however, between the romantic melancholy of Childe Harold's exile from his native shores, and the bitter sorrows of the exiled Florentine. On one occasion, we are told by Moore, Byron indignantly repudiated the criticism of Schlegel that

Dante was hard-hearted. "Gentle feelings? And Francesca da Rimini, and the father's feelings in Ugolino? and Beatrice and La Pia? Why, there is gentleness in Dante beyond all gentleness when he is tender. And Dante's heaven is all love and glory and majesty." Again he says: "I don't wonder at the enthusiasm of the Italians about Dante. He is the poet of liberty. Persecution, exile, the dread of a foreign grave, could not shake his principles. There is no Italian gentleman, scarcely any well-educated girl, that has not all the finer passages at the finger's end; particularly the Ravennese. The Guiccoli, for instance, can almost repeat any part of the Divine Comedy." And yet I doubt whether Byron had anything like so deep and genuine an enthusiasm for Dante as Shelley had. In several passages he seems not to regard him more highly as a poet than Tasso, Ariosto, or even Boccaccio. Thus in

Childe Harold, speaking of Tasso, he says:

Great as thou art yet paralleled by those
Thy countrymen, before thee born to shine,
The bards of Hell and Chivalry: first rose
The Tuscan father's comedy divine;
Then not unequal to the Florentine,
The southern Scott, etc. C. H., IV, 40.

Again, describing the church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Florence, he breaks out:

But where repose the all Etruscan three—
Dante and Petrarch and scarce less than they,
The bard of prose, creative spirit! he
Of the hundred tales of love. C. H., IV, 56.

Like so many other English poets,—Chaucer, Milton, Gray, Shelley,—Byron tried his hand at translating Dante. Of the two famous episodes of the *Inferno*, the Ugolino had been translated no less than three times—by Chaucer, by Gray, and by Shelley (or rather by Medwin, whose version was corrected by Shelley). Byron was the first to translate the passage containing the story of Francesca da

Rimini,¹ those lines which Walter Savage Landor called the most perfect in the whole range of poetry. This translation was done in March, 1820, in the original metre, *terza rima*, "third rhyme" as Byron calls it, adding: "I have done it into cramp English, line for line and rhyme for rhyme."

The most famous part of this episode is here given as a sample of Byron's art as a translator:

"The land where I was born sits by the seas,
 Upon that shore to which the Po descends,
 With all his followers in search of peace.
Love, which the gentle heart soon apprehends,
 Seized him for the fair person which was ta'en
 From me, and me even yet the mode offends.
Love who to none beloved to love again
 Remits, seized me with wish to please, so
 strong,
 That, as thou seest, yet, yet it doth remain.
Love to one death conducted us along,
 But Caina waits for him our life who ended":
 These were the accents utter'd by her tongue.—
Since I first listen'd to these souls offended,

¹ As we have already seen, Byron had planned to write a five-act drama on this theme.

I bow'd my visage, and so kept it till—
 "What think'st thou?" said the bard; when
 I unbended,
 And recommenced: "Alas! unto such ill
 How many sweet thoughts, what strong ecstasies,
 Led these their evil fortune to fulfil!"
 And then I turned unto their side my eyes,
 And said, "Francesca, thy sad destinies
 Have made me sorrow till the tears arise.
 But tell me, in the season of sweet sighs,
 By what and how thy love to passion rose,
 So as his dim desires to recognize?"
 Then she to me: "The greatest of all woes
 Is to remind us of our happy days
 In misery, and that thy teacher knows.
 But if to know our passion's first root preys
 Upon thy spirit with such sympathy,
 I will do even as he who weeps and says.
 We read one day for pastime, seated nigh,
 Of Lancilot, how love enchained him too.
 We were alone quite unsuspectingly.
 But oft our eyes met, and our cheeks in hue
 All o'er discolored by that reading were;
 But one point only wholly us o'erthrew;
 When we read the long-sigh'd-for smile of her,
 To be thus kiss'd by such devoted lover,
 He who from me can be divided ne'er
 Kiss'd my mouth, trembling in the act all over:

Accurs'd was the book and he who wrote!
That day no further leaf we did uncover."

References to Dante are not infrequent throughout the body of Byron's poetry. In the Age of Bronze, Verona is spoken of with its Amphitheatre:

Where Romans sate,
And Dante's exile sheltered by thy gate.

In the Childe Harold the references are quite numerous. Thus, as we have already seen, Dante's great poem is called

The Tuscan father's comedy divine,
and a little farther on in the same canto he apostrophizes the poet's native city:

Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar,
Like Scipio, buried by the upraiding:
Thy factions, in this worse than civil war,
Proscribed the bard, whose name forevermore
Their children's children would in vain adore
With the remorse of ages. C. H., IV, 57.

The description of the waterfall of Velino contains undoubted allusion to the mighty fall of the Phlegethon over the tremen-

dous precipice which separates the seventh from the eighth circle of the Inferno:

The hell of waters! Where they howl and hiss,
And boil in endless torture; while the sweat
Of their great agony, wrung out from this
Their Phlegethon, etc. C. H., IV, 69.

So, too, the metaphor drawn from the broken pieces of a mirror—

Even as a broken mirror, which the glass
In every fragment multiplies; and makes
A thousand images of one that was,
The same, and still the more, the more it breaks—
is like the illustration used by Vergil to
prove that in respect to the love of God
“giving doth not impoverish nor with-
holding enrich”:

E quanta gente piu lassù s' intende,
Piu v' è da bene amare, e più vi s' ama,
E come specchio l' uno all' altro rende.
Purg., XV, 73 ff.

Even in Don Juan, that extraordinary work of genius at odds with the world, in which life and death, love and sorrow, nature and man, are fused with consum-

mate skill with satire, cynicism, profanity, and immorality, we find a number of references to Dante. In Canto II the boat of starving shipwrecked people approaches the shore,

Like Charon's bark of spectres dull and pale.

In Canto III there is a paraphrase of the beautiful twilight scene in Purgatory:¹

Soft Hour! which wakes the wish and melts the
heart

Of those who sail the seas on the first day
When they from their sweet friends are torn apart;

Or fills with love the pilgrim on his way

As the far bell of vesper makes him start

Seeming to weep the dying day's decay;

Is this a reason which our reason scorns?

Ah! surely nothing dies but something mourns!

In Canto IV he tells us:

I pass each day where Dante's bones are laid:

A little cupola, more neat than solemn.

¹ VIII, 1 ff.:

Era già l' ora che volge il dislo

Ai naviganti e intenerisce il core

Lo di c' han detto a' dolci amici addio;

E che lo novo peregrin d' amore

Punge, se ode squilla di lontano

Che paia il giorno pianger che si more.

So, too, in the scene in the Harem (VI, 75), Dudu, whose shriek has aroused all the denizens of the dormitory, tells how she had dreamed of walking in a wood—

A “wood obscure,” like that where Dante found
Himself in at the age when all grow good.

The allusion in the last line is, of course, to the

Mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,

with which the *Inferno* begins. The same reference is repeated in the tenth canto:

But getting nigh grim Dante’s “obscure wood,”
That hateful equinox, etc.

In Canto VII, 3, he defends himself against the charge of scoffing by saying:

Good God! I wonder what they would be at!
I say no more than hath been said in Dante’s
Verse and by Solomon and by Cervantes.

The famous inscription over the gate to hell is quoted in part in Canto XVI, where the door

Opened with a most infernal creak,
Like that of hell,—“*Lasciate ogni speranza*

Voi ch 'entrate." The hinge seemed to speak,
Dreadful as Dante's rhima (*sic*) or this stanza.

As may be seen from the above quotations, there is but little of the solemnity, or pathos, or "high seriousness" of Dante in the use made by Byron of the Divine Comedy. Nor could it be otherwise. In temper and style the genius of Byron was more akin to that of Ariosto than to that of Dante. In the *Don Juan* the romanticism of the day is treated with the same irony as that with which chivalry is treated in the *Orlando Furioso*.

With Byron, however, this irony often degenerates into bitter and savage gibes at all things holy and sacred. Even the story of Ugolino, with its terrible pathos, is flippantly used as a cynical excuse for cannibalism on the part of the shipwrecked sailors (II, 83):

And if Pedrillo's head should shocking be,
Remember Ugolino condescends
To eat the head of his arch-enemy,
The moment after he politely ends

His tale; if foes be food in hell, at sea
 'Tis surely fair to dine upon a friend,
 When shipwreck's short allowance grows too
 scanty,
 Without being much more horrible than Dante.

In similar manner Beatrice, whose apothe-
 osis by Dante is, according to Shelley,
 "the most glorious imagination of mod-
 ern poetry," is sneeringly coupled with
 Petrarch's Laura and Milton's Eve to
 prove the truth of the cynical proposition
 That love and marriage rarely can combine.

The only two that in my recollection
 Have sung of heaven or hell, or marriage, are
 Dante and Milton, and of both the affection
 Was hapless in their nuptials, for some bar
 Of fault or temper ruin'd the connexion
 (Such things, in fact, it don't ask much to mar);
 But Dante's Beatrice and Milton's Eve
 Were not drawn from their spouses, you conceive.

Some persons say that Dante meant Theology
 By Beatrice, and not a mistress—I,
 Although my opinion may require apology,
 Deem this a commentator's phantasy,
 Unless, indeed, it was from his own knowledge he
 Decided thus and show'd good reason why;

I think that Dante's more abstruse ecstasies
Meant to personify the mathematics.

Byron was wont to declare that he was more attached to Ravenna than to any other place except Greece. He lived there more than two years. Undoubtedly his connection with the Countess Guiccioli had a great deal to do with this attachment. In this, the city of Dante's last days and death, this

Happier Ravenna on whose hoary shore
Fortress of falling Empire! honored sleeps
The immortal exile,—

the influence of the Italian on the English poet made itself especially felt—an influence which Rogers alludes to in his lines on Ravenna:

that Place
Of old renown, once in the Adrian sea,
Ravenna! where from Dante's sacred tomb
He had so oft, as many a verse declares,
Drawn inspiration.

It was here that the Prophecy of Dante was composed in 1819. The Countess

Guiccioli describes the origin of its composition as follows: "He came in January, 1819, arriving at Ravenna on the day of the festival of corpus domini. Being deprived at this time of his books, his horses, and all that occupied him at Venice, I begged him to gratify me by writing something on the subject of Dante, and with his usual good nature and rapidity he composed his Prophecy." In the dedication Byron states that she was the cause of the poem:

Lady! if for the cold and cloudy clime
 Where I was born, but where I would not die,
 Of the great poet-sire of Italy
 I dare to build the imitative rhyme,
 Harsh Runic copy of the South's sublime,
 Thou art the cause; and howsoever I
 Fall short of his immortal harmony,
 Thy gentle heart will pardon me the crime.
 Thou, in the pride of Beauty and of Youth,
 Spakest; and for thee to speak and be obey'd
 Are one; but only in the sunny South
 Such sounds are uttered, and such charms displayed,
 So sweet a language from so fair a mouth—
 Ah! to what effort would it not persuade?

The poem is in *terza rima* and consists of four cantos. He had planned more, but never finished them. The cantos are short, approximating in the number of lines to those of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In sending it to Mr. Murray, he called it the best thing he had ever done, "if not unintelligible." In the Preface we are told that "the reader is requested to suppose that Dante addresses him in the interval between the conclusion of the *Divine Comedy* and his death, and shortly before the latter event, foretelling the fortunes of Italy in general in the ensuing centuries." In the first canto Dante alludes to his own poem, just finished, speaks of his wrongs, his exile, his loneliness, and his yearning to return to Florence, the

bello ovile, ov' io dormii agnello,

In the prophecy proper there are allusions to the wars, calamities, discoveries of Italy, to her triumph in poetry and paint-

ing and sculpture—allusions to the sack of Rome, the voyage of Columbus and Cabot, to Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, and Michael Angelo.

While a strong and impressive poem, the Prophecy of Dante is not much like the great poet in whose name it is written either in general temper or language. The long sentences, the number of adjectives, and the long-drawn-out metaphors are unlike the noble simplicity, the unparalleled conciseness of Dante, his unique use of verb and noun as almost the only means with which to produce his effect. So, too, the whole atmosphere of the poem is romantic. Byron makes Dante dwell on his wrongs, and his bitterness and melancholy, his hopes of revenge, seem more like the character of Childe Harold than the stern, proud-hearted exile, with his reserve in speaking of his own sufferings, which when they do appear seem to burst forth irresistibly for a moment's space of

time, then are crowded back. The *Weltschmerz* of nineteenth-century romanticism has no place in the heart of Dante Alighieri.

Byron sometimes makes Dante utter things which he never could have said. Thus the line,

There where the farthest suns and stars have birth,
could scarcely have been written by one whose knowledge of the universe was confined within the narrow limits of the Ptolemaic system. So, too, Dante in his ignorance of Greek could hardly have made the references, attributed to him by Byron, to the pebbles of Demosthenes and the torments of Prometheus.

In looking over the above discussion of the relations of Byron to Dante the reader will perceive that it is chiefly as the poet of liberty, the forerunner of a united Italy, the patriot, whose principles neither "persecution, exile, nor the dread of a foreign grave could shake," that Byron looks upon

Dante. Thus in the Prophecy, after praising Columbus, Petrarch, Michael Angelo, he adds:

More than these illustrious far shall be,

The mortal saviour who shall set thee free.

The other phases of Dante's character and his poetry, the deep, religious feeling and mystical spirituality, Byron was not fitted by nature to appreciate, and consequently they are absent from his poetry.¹

¹ Following are some resemblances which may or may not have been due to Dante:

She knew she was by him beloved, she knew,
For quickly comes such knowledge. The Dream.

Cf.

Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende. Inf., V, 100.

And so great names are nothing more than nominal

And love of glory's but an airy lust. Don Juan, IV, 101.

Cf.

Non è il mondan romore altro che un fiato. Purg., XI, 100.

This sentiment is repeated by Tasso:

La fama, che invaghisce a un dolce suona

È un eco, un sogno, anzi del sogno un' ombra. Ger. Lib., XIV, 6.

She was his life

The ocean to the river of his thoughts
Which terminated all. The Dream.

Cf.

Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move. Par., III, 86.

CHAPTER IX.

SHELLEY.

AMONG all the English poets none shows a wider and deeper influence of Dante than Shelley. His acquaintance with the great Italian begins with the year 1818, the date of his first arrival in Italy; and the study then begun was continued through all the rest of his short life.

In a letter written to Thomas Love Peacock from Milan, dated April 20, 1818, he gives an enthusiastic description of the cathedral of Milan "with its stained glass and massy granite columns, overloaded with antique figures, and the silver lights, that burn forever under the canopy of black cloth beside the bronze altar"; and then adds: "There is one solitary spot

among those aisles behind the altar, where the light of day is dim and yellow under the storied window, which I have chosen to visit and read Dante there."

Surely an ideal place to be first inducted into the deep mystic beauty of that "poem of the earth and air," which, itself, has been beautifully compared to a cathedral. Under the double charm of architecture and poetry in their loftiest expression, we may well believe that at this time, as Mr. Dowden has said, "he was learning, perhaps unconsciously, some of the finer humanities of Catholicism"; and again, that "to reconcile him to Christianity, at least in its characteristic sentiment, the *Paradiso* effected more than could have been effected by any number of Short and Easy . . . with Deists or Atheists."

In the same year we learn that while in Como he was still reading the *Inferno*, and that later, on his return to Milan, he

finished the Purgatory and began the Paradiso.

During the period of sorrow in the autumn of 1819, caused by the loss of his boy and the melancholy of his wife, Shelley read two cantos of the Purgatory every day to Mary, "striving to win her back to an interest in matters remote from their recent loss." Two years later he writes from Ravenna to Mrs. Shelley: "I have visited Dante's tomb and worshipped at the sacred spot."

In his critical works Shelley gives constant expression to his profound admiration for the poet of light and love. Thus in the Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients, he says: "Dante may be the creator of imaginations of greater loveliness and energy than any that are to be found in the ancient literature of Greece." In the Defense of Poetry he says that Dante's poetry is a "bridge thrown over the stream of time, which unites the mod-

ern and ancient world"; and further, calls Homer the first and Dante the second epic poet whose works have relation to the sentiment and religion of their age. Again, Dante is the first religious reformer, the first awakener of entranced Europe, who "created a language in itself music and persuasion, out of a chaos of inharmonious barbarisms."

But the internal evidence of Dante's influence on Shelley is even more striking than the above statements, made by himself or his biographer. In him more than any other English poet do we find direct reference, allusion, translation, or imitation and adaptation of thought, figure, description; even examples of the peculiar metrical form of the Divine Comedy, the *terza rima*, are not wanting.

The number of direct references and allusions is comparatively large. Thus in the Triumph of Life the poet describes:

. . . A wonder worthy of the rhyme

Of him who from the lowest depth of hell,
Through every paradise and through all glory,
Love led serene, and who returned to tell

The words of hate and awe; the wondrous story
How all things are transfigured except Love;
For deaf as is a sea, which wrath makes hoary,

The world can hear not the sweet notes that move
The sphere whose light is melody to lovers—
A wonder worthy of his rhyme. . . .

Dante's influence is seen through and through the above poem, which is a vision in which supernatural figures appear and converse with the poet, as Vergil and Beatrice did with Dante. It is in *terza rima* and contains many reminiscences of Dante in language and metaphor. Thus compare the "grim feature" which he had taken for

. . . An old root which grew
In strange distortion . . .

with the shapes of the trees in the Wood of Suicides. So, too, we find here an example of Shelley's very numerous imita-

tions of one characteristic feature of the Paradiso, that is, spirits swathed in light:

So I knew in that light's severe excess
The presence of that shape, . . .

while the following metaphor is evidently due to something more than mere coincidence:

And as a shut lily, stricken by the wand
Of dewy morning's vital alchemy.¹

Other allusions to Dante are to be found in the Adonais,² the Ode to Liberty, and in the Tower of Famine, the latter (written in *terza rima*) suggested by the story of Ugolino.

The number of Shelley's translations from Dante are not inconsiderable, and are such perfect specimens of the diffi-

¹ Cf. Inferno, II, 127-129:

Quale i fioretti, dal notturno gelo

Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo.

² The Pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
Over his living head like Heaven is bent
An early, but enduring monument.

cult art of translation that it must ever remain a source of regret that he did not conceive the idea of making a complete translation of the Divine Comedy. These fragments of translation include the beautiful description of Matilda gathering flowers in the Earthly Paradise (*Purg.*, XXVIII, 1-51), of which the following lines may be taken as a fair example:

My slow steps had already borne me o'er
Such space within the antique wood, that I
Perceived not where I entered any more,

When lo! a stream whose little waves went by,
Bending toward the left through grass that grew
Upon its bank, impeded suddenly

My going on. Water of purest hue
On earth would appear turbid and impure
Compared with this, whose unconcealing dew,

Dark, dark, yet clear, moved under the obscure
Eternal shades, whose interwoven looms
The rays of moon or sunlight ne'er endure.

I moved not with my feet, but 'mid the glooms
Pierced with my charmèd eye contemplating
The mighty multitude of fresh May blooms

Which starred that night, when, even as a thing,
That suddenly for blank astonishment
Charms every sense, and makes all thought take
wing,

A solitary woman! and she went
Singing and gathering flower after flower,
With which her way was painted and besprent.

Bright lady, who, if looks had ever power
To bear the witness of the heart within
Dost bask under the beams of love, come lower
Toward this bank. I prithee let me win
This much of thee, to come, that I may hear
Thy song; like Proserpine, in Enna's glen,
Thou seemest to my fancy, singing here
And gathering flowers, as that fair maiden when
She lost the spring, and Ceres her more dear.

He also translated the first canzone of
the Convito,

Ye who intelligent the third heaven more,
and the very beautiful sonnet of Dante to
Guido Cavalcanti:

Guido, I would that Lapo, thou and I,
Led by some strong enchantment, might ascend
A magic ship, whose charmed sails should fly,
With winds at will where'er our thoughts might
wend,

And that no change, nor any evil chance
Should mar our joyous voyage; but it might be
That even satiety should still enhance
Between our hearts our strict community;
And that the bounteous wizard then would place
Vanna and Bice and my gentle love,
Companions of our wandering, and would grace
With passionate talk, wherever we might rove
Our time, and each were as content and free
As I believe that thou and I should be.

The most striking evidence of Dante's influence, however, is found in the *Epipsychidion* and *Prometheus Unbound*. The influence of the *New Life* on the former has been remarked by several Shelley scholars, and Shelley himself plainly acknowledges this influence in the *Advertisement to the Poem*, where he says: "The present poem, like the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, is sufficiently intelligible to a certain class of readers without a matter-of-fact history of the circumstances to which it relates." He adds to the poem a translation of Dante's famous *Canzone* beginning:

Voi, ch' intendendo, il terzo ciel movete.

As is well known, the *Epipsychidion* is a poem dedicated to Emilia Viviani, a beautiful and unhappy Italian girl whom Shelley met at Venice in 1821. His relations with her were similar to those of Dante with Beatrice: he knew her but little, saw her rarely, and his love for her was purely Platonic, ideal, vague, symbolical. Hence the fact that she married soon after made but little impression (other than pity) upon him. For him she was a creature of imagination, in whom he idealized love with all its intensity of passion. He himself calls *Epipsychidion* a mystery; "as to real flesh and blood, you know that I do not deal in these articles." It seems altogether probable that the figure of Beatrice was before him as he wrote the poem. To him love is the chief end of all poetry (as it is, in its higher sense, of all life), and in his *Defense of Poetry* he says of Dante that "his Apotheosis of Beatrice and the grada-

tions of his own love and her loveliness . . . is the most glorious imagination of modern poetry.”¹

As to internal evidence of the influence of the *New Life* on Shelley, it is sufficiently strong; yet it is of such a nature that it is easier to feel than to describe. The spirit of the two books is the same; both are vague and rhapsodical confessions of love, and both are allegorical, yet contain some basis of actual events. As for parallel passages, the number of them throughout the poetry of Shelley is so extensive that to quote them all would extend the limit of this discussion beyond all proportion. Any one who compares carefully the *New Life* with the *Epipsychidion* cannot fail to be struck constantly with resemblances in language, thought, and metaphor between the two.

¹ A fact of some importance in this question is an entry made by Mary Shelley in her diary, January 31, 1821: “Shelley reads the *Vita Nuova* to me in the evening.” The *Epipsychidion* was composed shortly after the above date.

There seem to be two other of Dante's works which Shelley had in mind while writing the *Epipsychidion*. Ackermann in his monograph on the *Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelley's Poetischen Werken* draws attention to the striking coincidence in general thought and spirit, between Shelley's poem and the *Convito*, especially the second *Canzone* thereof. He says: "Man darf nur den Gedankengang der zuletzt zitierten Stellen verfolgen, um zu sehen, wie viele Spuren desselben sich im *Epipsychidion* wiederfinden; Liebe ist nichts anderes als die geistige Vereinigung mit der Seele der Geliebten; sie ist das Anmutigste von allem, was die Sonne bescheint; sie hat etwas Überirdisches; ihre Sprache entzündet überall Liebesgedanken, verleiht also den himmlischen Geist; sie ist die Grundlage des Glaubens. . . . Die Schönheit ihres Blickes und Lächelns überwältigt alles, etc. Es lassen sich demgemäss auch

Parallelstellen für Einzelheiten zu dem Convito im Epipsychidion anführen, noch zahlreicher als zu der Vita Nuova."

There are several passages in the Epipsychidion which are undoubtedly more or less due to the Divine Comedy. The remarkable discussion between Vergil and Dante in the fifteenth canto of the Purgatory, in which the former explains how the love of God, instead of diminishing when shared by many, only increases—as the sum total of the light of the sun, reflected from many mirrors,—has undoubtedly furnished the thought in the lines,

True Love in this differs from gold and clay,
That to divide is not to take away.
Love is like understanding, that grows bright,
Gazing on many truths; 'tis like thy light,
Imagination! which from earth and sky,
And from the depths of human phantasy,
As from a thousand prisms and mirrors, fills
The Universe with glorious beams.¹

¹ The same figure has been used by Byron in his *Childe Harold*. See p. 162.

Many other resemblances can be found,
such as

the wintry forest of our life;
And struggling through its error with vain strife,
etc.;¹

and the Being clothed in light so resplendent that its form is hidden:

She met me, robed in such exceeding glory,
That I beheld her not.

The beautiful lines in the last part of the *Epipsychidion*, where the poet invites Emily to fly with him to some blessed island beyond the sea—

A ship is floating in the harbor now,
A wind is hovering o'er the mountain's brow;
There is a path on the sea's azure floor,
No keel has ever ploughed that path before,² etc.

—are enveloped in the same atmosphere of soft and voluptuous beauty as the exquisite sonnet of Dante to Guido Cavalcanti, which, as we have seen, Shelley translated with such consummate skill.

¹ Cf. *Inf.*, I, 1 ff.

² Cf. *Che mai non vide navicar sue acque.*

Purg., I, 131.

Great and wide-reaching as we have shown hitherto the influence of Dante to be on the poetry of Shelley, we have not as yet mentioned the poem which reveals that influence still more profoundly, the *Prometheus Unbound*. Here as in the case of the *Epipsychidion* we have both internal and external evidence as to the fact of such influence. In the Preface Shelley says that his imagery is often drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed: "This is unusual in modern poetry, although Dante and Shakespeare are full of it, and Dante indeed more than any other poet and with greater success. The Greeks are full of it; it is to the study of them that I am willing my readers should impute this singularity." What he thus confesses of the Greeks is undoubtedly likewise true of Dante, whom he couples above with the former.

The poem was begun in 1818 at Este, where, in the words of Professor Dowden, "in the narrow court of the arbor, thoughts and visions came and went of Michelangelesque sublimity and of tenderness as exquisite as that of the great Florentine."

A careful comparison of the *Prometheus Unbound* with the *Paradiso* cannot fail to show many striking points of resemblance between the two. Although so utterly unlike in many respects, the one so mediæval, the other so modern, yet there is in both the same atmosphere of light and universal love, the same constant use of music, sweet sounds, and dance. The very aspect of Dante's *Paradise* is summed up in such language as "an ocean of splendor and harmony," "Paradise of golden light," and in such lines as—

But now, oh weave the mystic measure
Of music, and dance, and shapes of light.

In Dante's theory, love is the great principle of life; it streams from God and fills the universe; it moves

il sole e l' altre stelle . . .;¹

it has created the world, and

Nè creator nè creatura mai
 . . . fu senza amore.²

So the main theme of the Prometheus Unbound is the final triumph of love; love is everywhere, and fills not only human and divine beings, but the very beasts of the field and all the inanimate world—

Common as light is love,

.
 Like the wide heaven, the all-sustaining air,
 It makes the reptile equal to the God;

and earth sings.

It interpenetrates my granite mass,
 Through tangled roots and trodden clay doth pass,
 Into the utmost leaves and delicatest flowers;
 Upon the winds among the clouds 'tis spread, etc.

¹ Par., XXXIII, 145.

² Purg., XVII, 91, 92.

The one vital difference between Dante and Shelley in this theory of love is that the former is profoundly religious; God the almighty creator and sustainer of the universe is the source of this love:

In la sua volontate è nostra pace:
Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move;¹

while to Shelley man is the measure of all things:

Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,
Whose nature is its own divine control,
Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea.

The Paradise of Dante consists of the nine heavens embraced by the Empyrean, the heaven of light and love. These nine heavens are inhabited by the spirits of the Blessed, who are swathed in light, and appear to Dante as splendors, flames, and globes of light. This conception, which pervades the whole length and breadth of the *Paradiso*, has been used

¹ *Par.*, III, 85, 86.

again and again by Shelley. Thus, among the many examples which might be given, take the following lines:

Child of light! thy limbs are burning
Through the vest which seems to hide them,
As the radiant lines of morning
Thro' the clouds ere they divide them;
And this atmosphere divinest
Shrouds thee whereso'er thou shinest.

In the Paradiso this splendor which enwraps the souls of the saints is constantly changing, and manifests the greater or less joy of the soul, as a smile reveals the joy of the human heart:

Ed io sentì dentro a quella lumiera,
Che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo.
Incominciar, facendosi più mera.¹

So Shelley's,

. . . the animation of delight
Which wraps me, like an atmosphere of light;
or,

. . . 'tis He, arrayed
In the soft light of his own smiles;

¹ Par., XI, 16-18.

or again:

Though art folded, thou art lying
In the light which is undying
Of thine own joy and heaven's smile divine.

So, too, the beauty of Beatrice, which changes from heaven to heaven and becomes too splendid for Dante to gaze upon, is none other than that of Asia when she changes and Panthea cries out:

How thou art changed! I dare not look on thee;
I feel, but see thee not. I scarce endure
The radiance of thy beauty.

While the greatest influence of the Divine Comedy on Prometheus Unbound is exerted by the Paradiso, yet we find a number of passages in Shelley's poem which are undoubtedly more or less due to the Inferno and the Purgatory. We have an actual reference to the famous inscription over the gate to Dante's Inferno in the lines:

No more inscribed as o'er the gate of Hell,
"All hope abandon, ye who enter here";

while the number of resemblances is comparatively large. Among these resemblances we may call attention to Prometheus' unconquerable defiance of Jupiter (like that of Capaneus in the fourteenth canto of the *Inferno*); and to the various torments which the Phantasm invites upon his head, and which, in a measure, sum up those scattered over the circles of Hell:

Rain then thy plagues upon me here,
 Ghastly disease, and frenzying fear;
 And let alternate frost and fire
 Eat into me, and be thine ire
 Lightning, and cutting hail, and legioned forms
 Of furies, driving by upon the wounding storms.¹

There is also evident reference in the following lines to the City of Dis, with its walls and towers, rising like a fortress on the banks of the river Styx:

¹ Cf., however, *Æschylus, Prometheus Bound*:

Let him wreathe
 Curls of scorching flame around me;
 Let him fret the air with thunder, etc.

Blackie's Translation.

Cf. also Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, III, 1.

. . . Back to your towers of iron,
And gnash, beside the streams of fire and wail,
Your foodless teeth. Geryon, arise! and Gorgon,
Chimæra, etc.

The famous episode of Francesca da Rimini which contains the exquisite passage describing two doves sailing with outstretched wings to their nest, seems to have been in Shelley's mind when he wrote the following lines:

Behold'st thou not two shapes from the east and
west
Come, as two doves to one belovèd nest,
Twin nurslings of the all-sustaining air,
On swift still wings glide down the atmosphere?

The lovely scene in the second canto of the Purgatory, where the boat containing the souls of the saved comes sailing over the shoreless sea, wafted by the white wings of the angel-boatman, was a favorite one with Shelley, and its influence is seen in several beautiful passages; as for instance, the song of Asia:

My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit
Beside a helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.

So, too, the brilliant whiteness of Dante's angel, the *un non sapea che bianco*, seems to have been expanded and etherealized in the passage where the chariot, like a "thinnest boat," is described within which

Sits a wingèd infant, white
Its countenance, like the whiteness of bright snow,
Its plumes are as feathers of sunny frost,
Its limbs gleam white, through the wind-flowing folds
Of its white robe.

It is impossible to do full justice to this influence of Dante on Shelley. It reveals itself on almost every page; it hovers like an atmosphere over his entire later works; it rises in his theories of love, and visions of abstract beauty; it reveals itself by sudden flashes in metaphor and

figure, or even single words and expressions. What has been said in the preceding pages touches only the most prominent traces of this influence. The extent to which the spirit of Dante pervades the whole of Shelley's poetry can only be fully appreciated by those who carefully compare the two poets.

Most English poets, as well as most readers of Dante, are better acquainted with the *Inferno* than with the rest of the works of the divine poet. Shelley, on the contrary, shows minute acquaintance not only with the whole of the *Divine Comedy*, but also with the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convito*, and the *Canzoniere*. *Canzoniere*

Shelley's imitation of Dante was not a conscious one, but was the result of the complete saturation of his mind with the poetry of the great Florentine. He studied him constantly throughout his whole life, from the very first day when he opened the *Divine Comedy* and fell under

the spell of that wonderful book. The thoughts, the images, the language which we have noted, came forth from his mind as unconsciously, as spontaneously, as the visions of his own ethereal imagination, or the pictures of natural beauty with which he stored his mind. No English poet has so completely assimilated the works of Dantè as he.

CHAPTER X.

MATTHEW ARNOLD AND ROSSETTI.

As we approach the middle of the nineteenth century we find Dante more and more understood and loved by the English poets. It is true still that some show but little evidence of his influence; thus Swinburne has a mere perfunctory reference to him in *A Song of Italy*:

Halls that saw Dante speaking, chapels fair
As the outer hills and air,
Praise him who feeds the fire that Dante fed;¹

and while in the lines of William Morris,

¹ The genius of Swinburne was more akin to that of Victor Hugo, whom he admires and praises extravagantly, than to that of Dante.

Came Launcelot walking; this is true the kiss
Wherewith we kissed in meeting that spring day,
I scarce dare talk of the remembered bliss,¹
the expression "the remembered bliss"
seems to contain a reference to Francesca,
the original of course is Launcelot du Lak,
from which Dante got his idea.

It was chiefly as a critic that Matthew Arnold discusses Dante. His admiration for him was profound, and he gives constant expression to it throughout his essays. In his essay on A French Critic on Milton he couples the Italian poet with the great Greeks, and with Vergil and Milton, as a "great artist in style." In the Essay on Translating Homer he admires Dante's "allusive and compressed manner," and contrasts his "inversion and pregnant conciseness" with the "directness and flowingness" of

¹ Cf. Tennyson:

A man had given all other bliss,
And all his worldly worth for this,
To waste his whole heart in one kiss
Upon her perfect lips.

Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere.

Homer; while in accordance with his usual custom he keeps reiterating the phrase "grand style," of which Dante is always cited as a great master. He takes what he calls "eminent specimens" of this "grand style" from Homer, Vergil, and Milton, and joins thereto the following lines from the *Inferno* (XVI, 61):

Lascio lo fele, e vo pei dolci pomi
 Promessi a me per lo verace duca;
 Ma fino al centro pria convien ch' io tomi.

In similar manner, in the *Study of Poetry* (published originally as the general introduction to Ward's *English Poets*) he quotes from the supreme poets of the world examples of the "*σπουδαιότης*, the high and excellent seriousness, which Aristotle assigns as one of the grand virtues of poetry," lines which may serve as a touchstone by means of which we can test all poetry. "Take," says Mr. Arnold, "that incomparable line and a half

of Dante, Ugolino's tremendous words:

Io no piangeva; sì dentro impietrai:
Piangevan elli; . . .

and the lovely words of Beatrice to Vergil:

Io son fatta da Dio, sua mercè, tale
Che la vostra miseria non mi tange,
Nè fiamma d' esto incendio non m' assale; . . .

take the simple but perfect line,

In la sua voluntade è nostra pace."

"These few lines," adds Mr. Arnold, "are enough even of themselves to keep clear and sound our judgments about poetry."

Matthew Arnold must have been deeply influenced in mind, character, views of life, and poetic feeling by his intense admiration of, and thorough acquaintance with Dante's poetry. Yet in his case this influence is so general, so pervasive, that it is difficult to indicate in his poetry any particular passage to which a direct parallel may be found in Dante. Such reminiscences as in the line,

The rustle of the eternal rain of love,

and such casual references as are found in the sonnet on the Austerity of Poetry,—

That son of Italy who tried to blow,
Ere Dante came, the trump of sacred song,—

and in the poem on Heine's Grave,—

No tomb
On Ravenna sands, in the shade
Of Ravenna pines, for a high
Austere Dante!—

are of no particular value in this respect, and the full extent of Dante's influence on the bard of religious questionings can only be estimated by a consideration of his critical judgments and the general attitude of his mind.

It is not the place here to discuss the influence of Dante on Ruskin, since the work of the latter is in prose; yet he must at least be referred to on account of his influence on the pre-Raphaelites, especially Rossetti. In his *Modern Painters* he quotes Dante profusely, and in the third

appendix thereto states his obligation to him.¹ It is natural, then, that he should advise Rossetti to turn his attention to certain passages in Dante as subjects for pictures.² The whole movement of Pre-Raphaelitism gave a great impulse to Dante study in England, and added an extra stimulus to the interest of Rossetti in Dante both as a poet and an artist.

From early youth Dante Gabriel Rossetti was surrounded by an atmosphere of Dante, and in him to an unusual degree heredity, environment, and special training were joined to make him a lover and expounder of the greatest of Italian poets.

His father, Gabriel Rossetti (1783-1854),

¹ "I should be very sorry if I had not been continually taught and influenced by the writers whom I love; and am quite unable to say to what extent my thoughts have been guided by Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Helps; to whom (with Dante and George Herbert in olden time) I owe more than to any other writers."

² See W. M. Rossetti: Ruskin, Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 27.

was an Italian patriot who, exiled from his native land, came to London in 1825, where he became professor of Italian literature at King's College. He was a poet, but above all a Dante scholar of high rank.¹ His wife was sister to that Doctor Polidori who was companion to Byron and Shelley in their sojourn on Lake Geneva in 1816. Of the four children of this family William Michael was deeply imbued with a love for the Florentine poet. Maria Francesca wrote the *Shadow of Dante* (highly praised by Lowell in his *Essay on Dante*, occasioned by the publication of this book), while Christina, a poetess of no mean talent, shows the influence of the *Divine Comedy* in her poetry.²

¹ Among his writings on Dante are his *Commento Analitico sulla Divina Commedia* (1826) and *La Beatrice di Dante* (1852).

² Each of the fourteen sonnets which make up the *Monna Innamorata* of Christina Rossetti begins with a motto from Dante or Petrarch. In the poem entitled *In Later Life* the lines,

As doves fly to their windows, love's own bird
Contented and desired to the nest,

The environment of Rossetti tended likewise to fill him with an interest in Dante. He himself says: "The first associations I have are connected with my father's devoted studies, which, from his point of view, have done so much towards the general investigation of Dante's writings. Thus in these early days all around me partook of the influence of the great Florentine; till from viewing it as a natural element I also, growing older, was drawn within the circle." ¹

are very plainly copied after *Inf.*, V, 82-84:

Quali colombe dal disio chiamate,
Con l' ali alzate e ferme, al dolce nido
Vengon per l' aere.

¹ Family Letters, I, p. 64. Among the early friends of Rossetti was the eccentric Seymour Kirkup, who was one of the discoverers of Giotto's portrait of Dante in the Bargello in Florence. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Dante and was a profound believer in the elder Rossetti's interpretation of the poet's works. He was a spiritualist and claimed to be in constant communication with the spirits of the distinguished dead, especially Dante. Concerning the latter he gives the following curious facts in a letter to Wm. Rossetti:

"Dante, with two other of our spirits, con-

It is not, however, exactly true to say he had from early childhood a love for the object of his father's worship. His brother says that as a child he breathed Dante but did not think Dante; his father's speculations had rather alienated him; and he probably had not read twenty consecutive

tinues to live at Caprera, where he is Garibaldi's guardian, and he seldom comes to see us, though he is very kind to my little girl and to us all. I told you of the death of a little rabbit which he brought her as a present from that island. He promised her something else and we had forgotten it. The other day as we were at dinner she said: 'There is somebody crying in this room.' I am deaf and heard nothing. The nun said: 'C' È una voce qui.' (There is a voice here.) I supposed it was some noise in the street. 'No, it is here.' I gave Bibi a pen and she was made to write: 'Open the door of the camerino,' which she did, and came running and screaming to us: 'Oh, c'è una bestia!' (Oh, there is an animal!) followed by a big lamb, almost a sheep, jumping and bleating. Dante, assisted by another, had brought it from Santa Rosora, near Pisa, where it had been lost in a wood: the peasants would have eaten it. And here it has been ever since, and follows Bibi like a dog. I had been in the camerino five minutes before and was never out of sight of the door. The window was fastened, but they had opened it." See Rossetti Papers, 1862-70.

lines of Dante up to the age of 15 or 16. After that, however, he made up for lost time.¹ Yet Rossetti was foreordained to become a passionate lover of Dante, not only through heredity and environment, but by natural disposition. He was dreamy and mystical, a *dugentista Italiano*, born in England,² as Nencioni calls him, and his studies in early Italian literature added not only to his knowledge of, but to his love for, the greatest of its poets, his translations from whom have become classic.³ Thus we see that no English poet was more completely steeped in Dante and his times than was Rossetti. This influence shows itself in both his poetry and his paintings.

¹ Family Letters, pp. 63, 64.

² Gabriel Sarrazin says of Rossetti's genius: "Voici donc qu'elle reparaît, mais plus endolorie et comme rajeunie d'alanguissement tout moderne, l'antique extase de Dante."

³ Swinburne says (in 1870): "All Mr. Rossetti's translations bear the same evidence of a power not merely beyond reach, but beyond attempt of other artists in language."

About the year 1850 he began that long series of pictures in oil and water-colors, of sketches in pencil and ink, devoted to subjects drawn from Dante's life and works, which reached their climax in the wonderful painting known as Dante's Dream. This picture, the masterpiece of its author and of which Sir Noel Paton says: "Fifty years from now it will be counted among the half-dozen supreme pictures of the world," is the final step in a long development. In 1854-5 he made a first water-color version of it, but only finished it in oils in 1871. Ten years later it was bought by the corporation of Liverpool for £1500, and hung in the Walker Art Gallery.¹

In Rossetti's poetry, with which we are here chiefly concerned, the influence of

¹ For discussion of Dante's influence on Rossetti as a painter, see Esther Wood, *Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*; W. M. Rossetti, *Ruskin, Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism*; and Volkmann, *Iconografia Dantesca*.

Dante does not seem so great. if we omit his translation of the *New Life*, nor does Rossetti's poetry occupy the rank of relative superiority in literature that his pictures do in painting. He has a sonnet on the *Vita Nuova*—

As he that loves oft looks on the dear form
And guesses how it grew to womanhood,
And gladly would have watched the beauties bud
And the mild fire of precious life wax warm;
So I, long bound within the threefold charm
Of Dante's love sublimed to heavenly mood,
Had marvelled, touching his *Béatitude*,
How grew such presence from man's shameful
swarm.

At length within the book I found portrayed
New-born that *Paradisal Love* of his,
And simple like a child; with whose clear aid
I understood. To such a child as this,
Christ, charging well His chosen ones, forbade
Offence, "for lo! of such My kingdom is"—

and a very beautiful sonnet, *Dantis Tenebræ*, written in memory of his father:

And didst thou know indeed, when at the font
Together with thy name thou gavest me his,

That also on thy son must Beatrice
 Decline her eyes according to her wont,
 Accepting me to be of those that haunt
 The vale of magical, dark mysteries
 Where to the hills her poet's foot-track lies
 And wisdom's living fountain to his chaunt
 Trembles in music? This is that steep land
 Where he that holds his journey stands at gaze
 Tow'rd sunset, when the clouds like a new
 height
 Seem piled to climb. These things I understand:
 For here where day still soothes my lifted face,
 On thy bowed head, my father, fell the night.

In the sonnet sequence on the House of Life we have the "record of individual emotions suggested by the presence and absence of embodied love," a poem of which Stedman says: "If he finishes it he will leave a monument of beauty more lasting than the tradition of his presence." While the general spirit suggests the temper of love in early Italian poetry, there are not many passages which can be looked on as directly imitated from Dante. The structure is more like Petrarch. In

Sonnet 18 on Genius in Beauty he mentions Dante:

Beauty like hers is genius, not the call
Of Homer's or of Dante's heat sublime;

while in *Without Her* we are reminded of the loss both of Beatrice and Laura. In the sonnet entitled *The One Hope* the line,

Shall peace be still a sunken stream,
is evidently a reminiscence of Lethe in the *Earthly Paradise*.¹ The atmosphere of the *Blessed Damozel* suggests a vague resemblance to Dante's poetry, yet that Rossetti had not a direct imitation in mind when writing it may be seen from the following words by him: "When Hunt in his kind letter speaks of my Dantesque heavens,² he refers to one or two of the poems the scene of which is laid in the celestial regions, and which I suppose he is pleased to think belongs to

¹ *Purg.*, XXXI.

² W. M. Rossetti says in a note to this passage, "This must have applied to the *Blessed Damozel*."

the school of Dante." The following passages are entirely in the spirit of Dante:

So high that looking downward, thence
She scarce could see the sun,¹

The souls mounting up to God
Went by her like thin flames;²

I'll take his hand and go with him
To the deep well of light:
As unto a stream we will step down
And bathe there in God's light;³

while

Only to live as once on earth
With love only to be
As then awhile, forever now,
Together I and she

recalls Francesca and Paolo in the Inferno.⁴

¹ Par., XXII, 151; XXVII, 82 ff.

² Cf. the "nebuletta bianchissima" (the soul of Beatrice) in Vita Nuova, XXIII, and the frequent use of flames for the spirits of the Blessed in Paradiso.

³ Cf. the stream of Lethe in Purg., XXXI, 94 ff., and the river of light in Par., XXX, 61 ff.

⁴ Canto V, 135:

Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso.

anecdotes so familiar to the student of Dante, how

When for some great charge far away
Her rulers his acceptance sought:
"And if I go, who stays?" so rose
His scorn: "and if I stay, who goes?"

how

As through Verona's streets he went
This saying certain women sent:
"Lo, he that strolls to Hell and back
At will! Behold him, how Hell's reek
Has crisped his beard and singed his cheek";

how when he came upon

The women at their palm-playing,
one of them,

knowing well that he,
By some found stern, was mild with them,
Would run and pluck his garment's hem,
Saying, "Messer Dante, pardon me."
Praying that they might hear the song
Which first of all he made when young.

So, too, we have the oft-told story of the Jester who, while Dante sat stern and silent, set the company in a roar, whereat

Can Grande shook his hair
And smote his thighs and laughed i' the air.

.
Then facing on his guest, he cried:

“Say, Messer Dante, how it is
I get out of a clown like this
More than your wisdom can provide?”

And Dante: “Tis man’s ancient whim
That still his like seems good to him.”

Far more impressive than his use of these external facts or legends, however, is Rossetti’s sympathetic analysis of the deeper feelings of Dante’s soul amid the surroundings of Can Grande’s court; of his sense of humiliation in those days

Of the steep stairs and bitter bread,
Of the soul’s quest whose stern avow
For years had made him haggard now;

his yearning to return to his native town

And at that font in Florence still
His forehead take the laurel crown;

how ever and anon he would hear the voice of his early love, which said in his heart:

“Even I, even I am Beatrice”;
 And his whole life would yearn to cease:
 Till having reached his room apart
 Beyond vast lengths of palace floor,
 He drew the arras round his door.

At such time, Dante, thou has set
 Thy forehead to the painted pane
 Full oft I know; and if the rain
 Smote it outside, her fingers met
 Thy brow, and if the sun fell there
 Her breath was on thy face and hair.”

Yet, in all his sorrow and sadness, when
 Florence published the decree of free pardon to all,—

So a fine were paid
 And act of public penance made,—
 Dante spurned the unworthy offer, crying
 out

That since no gate led, by God’s will,
 To Florence, but the one whereat
 The priest and money-changers sat,
 He still would wander; for that still,
 Even through the body’s prison-bars,
 His soul possessed the sun and stars.

And so he lingered in Verona, until the
 day came when he

felt assured that there
The sunshine must lie sicklier
Even than in any other place
Save only Florence. When that day
Had come, he rose and went his way.

We might linger longer over the poetry and pictures of Rossetti, but enough has been said to prove the overwhelming influence of Dante on the great master of the Pre-Raphaelites in England. Over the grave in Birchington churchyard where his body is laid, stands a beautiful tomb, designed by Madox Brown, and of the three bas-reliefs which designate the chief tendencies of his artistic work, it is eminently fitting that one should represent the spiritual marriage of Dante and Beatrice.

CHAPTER XI.

BROWNING AND TENNYSON.

No English poet had a broader, deeper, more personal affection for Italy than Robert Browning:

Open my heart and you will see
Graved inside of it, "Italy."
Such lovers old are I and she,
So it was always, so shall ever be!

Her history, her natural beauty, her art, her literature, the storied monuments of her past, all find expression in his poetry.

We need not be surprised, then, to find that Browning was deeply impressed by the genius of the greatest of the Italian poets. While he does not show the influence of Dante in his poems to so great an extent as Shelley, or even Byron, yet

there can be little doubt that he had as full an understanding of him and as deep and intelligent a love for him as either of these.¹ There is casual mention of Dante in some of his shorter poems,—as

No mere display at the stone of Dante
(Old Pictures in Florence)

and

Who is Dante, Boccaccio, Saint Jerome and
Cicero? (Up at a Villa; Down in the City);

while in *Fifine* at the Fair the frequently expressed surprise of the spirits in the *Divine Comedy* at the breathing of Dante is alluded to in the following lines:

In all Descents to Hell whereof I ever read,
As when a phantom there, male enemy or friend,
Or merely stranger-shade, is struck, is forced suspend

His passage: "You that breathe, along with us
the ghosts."

Here, why must it be still a woman that accosts?

¹ "Anyhow Dante is out of it all; as who knows but I [sic], with all of him in my head and heart." (Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, vol. I, p. 56.)

We might expect to find in the Ring and the Book, if anywhere in Browning's works, some traces of the influence of Dante. Yet in actual fact there is but little; a few brief mentions,

I doubt much if Marino really be
A better bard than Dante after all;

and a few lines, evidently reminiscential of the Divine Comedy, such as,

Horrible worms made out of sweat and tears.¹
So, too, the origin of Caponsacchi's family in Fiesole, and their settling late in Florence, near the "Old Mercato," is referred to much in the same language as in the Paradiso (XVI, 121).²

¹ Cf. *Inf.*, III, 67-69:

Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto
Che mischiato di lagrime, a' lor piedi,
Da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto.

² Cf. also

Pluck from out the flame the brand
Themselves had thoughtlessly thrust in so deep,
To send gay-color'd sparkles up,

(Ring and the Book, III, 1025.)

with

Poi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi
Surgono innumerabili faville. (Par., XVIII, 100-1.)

The personal religious element in Dante, his indomitable optimism in the midst of sorrows and wrongs such as fall to the lot of few men, his unfaltering belief that the evils of the life that now is will be compensated for in the life that is to come, appealed strongly to the essentially religious temperament of Browning. In the days of his own bitter sorrow for the death of her who had been the great blessing of his life, he found consolation in the beautiful words of Dante, in which the latter affirms his certainty of seeing Beatrice again in the other world. In a letter to a lady (who wrote to him when dying, to thank him for the help she had received from Rabbi Ben Ezra, and Abt Vogler) he wrote as follows: "Or, not to multiply instances, as when Dante wrote what I will transcribe from my wife's Testament wherein I recorded it fourteen years ago: 'Thus I believe, thus I affirm, thus I am certain it is, that from

this life I shall pass to another, better, there, where that lady lives of whom my soul was enamoured.'"

The strong character of Dante was especially adapted to attract Browning; and it was not merely the poet but the man whom he admired. All through Browning's poetry we see that the themes which he loved to discuss were those in which strength and force of will and character show themselves.

I count life just a stuff
To try the soul's strength on, educe the man.
Who keeps one end in view makes all things serve.

Even in evil-doing it is better to be strong than weak: this is the lesson of the Bust and the Statue. The stern Florentine, unbending in what he conceived to be right, preferring exile and beggary to a shameful return to his native city, the great poet, the leader of men, the ardent patriot, even the intense hater,

Dante, who loved well because he hated,
Hated wickedness that hinders loving,

was the very incarnation of that strength and power of manhood which Browning admired above all things.

That this is no mere fancy is fully shown in the poem on Sordello, one of the most difficult and obscure, yet one of the most characteristic of Browning's works.

I think there can be little doubt that Browning received the first suggestion of this poem from Dante. Sordello, an Italian troubadour who flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century, would to-day be practically unknown but for the passages in the *Purgatory* and the *De Vulgari Eloquio*. In the latter Dante praises his predecessor in the art of poetry for being one of the first of Italian poets to give up writing in the local dialect; in the former he describes the meeting of Vergil and Sordello in Ante-Purgatory. The troubadour had looked at first upon the approaching poets with an air of supreme yet dignified haughtiness,

In guisa di leon quando si posa;
 at the mention of Mantua, however, he
 bestowed a warm-hearted and open-armed
 welcome to the

pregio eterno del loco ond' io fui.

This welcome furnishes Dante with the occasion for a magnificent outburst of indignation at the political state of Italy. These are the hints, taken by Browning, out of which he reconstructed the story of *Sordello*. Although he studied carefully the times and read over thirty books on the subject, yet the character of his hero is the creation of his own imagination.

In the early part of the poem there is a direct reference to Dante; *Sordello* is called the forerunner of the latter, a herald-star of song, afterwards overwhelmed by the blaze of the greater genius of his successor,

For he is thine!

Sordello, thy forerunner Florentine!

A herald-star, I know thou didst absorb,
Relentless into the consummate orb
That scared it from its right to roll along
A sempiternal path with dance and song,
Fulfilling its allotted period.
Serenest of the progeny of God—
Who yet resigns it not.

Yet Browning says he will try to separate the lesser glory of Sordello from the greater of Dante, although he feels doubtful as to his ability to do this:

Dante, pacer of the shore
Where gluttoned hell disgorgeth filthiest gloom,
Unbitten by its whirring sulphur-spume—
Or whence the grieved and obscure waters slope
Into a darkness quieted by hope;
Plucker of amaranths grown beneath God's eye
In gracious twilights where his chosen lie,—
I would do this! If I should falter now!

The characters, the historical background, the whole political atmosphere of Browning's poem resembles that of the *Divine Comedy*; we find there the bloody strife between Guelf and Ghibelline; Milan, Verona, Mantua, with its marshy environs;

Eccelino da Romano, Azzo of Este, Sordello himself, and his love for Palma,—

Palma, Dante spoke with in the clear
Amorous silence of the swooning sphere,
Cunizza, as he called her!

Browning treats Sordello as being what the Germans call "eine problematische Natur"; a sort of Italian Hamlet of the Middle Ages. As he himself says in his dedication to Mr. Milsand, his "stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul; little else is worth study."

Just as he took the name and person of Sordello from Dante, so he undoubtedly took the hint of his character from the lines in the Purgatory and Inferno, quoted by Mr. Lowell in his essay *Shakespeare Once More*, as giving a perfect description of Hamlet's weakness.

After a careful study of this poem, I feel little doubt, in spite of its confessed obscurity, that in it Browning intended to make a contrast between Sordello and

Dante. The former, like the latter, was
 foremost in the regal class
 Nature has broadly severed from her mass.

He was an ardent student, full of generous impulses and lofty ambitions. He, even before Dante, revolted against the artificiality and conventionality of the poetry of the troubadours, and sought inspiration from his own heart:

That man, said we, tells his own joys and woes
 We'll trust him. Would you have your songs
 entire,
 Build on the human heart;¹

lines which in sentiment are like Dante's reply to Buonagiunta's question,

¹ We find the same idea in other poets; thus Boileau says:

Que dans tous vos discours la passion émue
 Aille chercher le cœur, l'échauffe et le remue
 (Art Poétique, III, 15, 16);

Goethe:

Doch werdet ihr nie Herz zu Herzen schaffen
 Wenn es euch nicht von Herzen geht
 (Faust, I. Theil, 191, 192);

and Alfred de Musset:

C'est cette voix du cœur qui seule au cœur arrive
 (À La Malibran).

Io mi son un che, quando
Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo
Che detta dentro, vo significando.

Purg., XXIV, 52-54.

Sordello even seemed to have had a dream of writing some day a poem of the general plan of the Divine Comedy, an outline of the theme of which he gives in his speech to Salinguerra:

I take the task
And marshal you Life's elemental masque,
Show Men, on evil or on good lay stress,
This light, this shade make prominent, suppress
All ordinary hues that softening blend
Such natures with the level. Apprehend
Which sinner is, which saint, if I allot
Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, a blaze or blot —
To those you doubt concerning! I enwomb
Some wretched Friedrich with his red-hot tomb;
Some dubious spirit, Lombard Agilulph
With the black chastening river I engulph!
Some unapproached Matilda I enshrine
With languors of the planet of decline, etc.

Sordello, like Dante, had a true conception of the importance of developing the

national language. In his dreams of the great things he should do some day,

Language, that makeshift, grew
Into a bravest of expedients, too.

So, also, in the terrible chaos of civil war which crushed the very life out of hapless Italy, Sordello saw an opportunity of becoming a leader of men, a glorious task for one who could bring harmony and peace out of the conflicting parties. He was born,

With the new century, beside the glow
And effervescence out of barbarism.

He had an earnest desire to serve his country, a clear vision of truth, splendid gifts of mind and soul. Yet all these lofty qualities were rendered vain by the one "mark of leprosy" within him: his vacillation, his weakness of will, his inveterate habit of dreaming instead of doing.

While Dante, fifty years later, founded the Italian language, wrote one of the

greatest poems in the world's literature, suffered poverty and exile for the sake of his political doctrines, Sordello did nothing. His life was spent in dreams: he dreamed of forming a new language; he dreamed of becoming a great poet; he dreamed of political power, of becoming the "Monarch of the World." But when the time for action came, all the baseless fabric of these visions faded away, leaving "not a wrack behind,"

The Body, the Machine for acting will
Had been at the commencement proved unfit.

And so it came to pass that instead of accomplishing his dreams, instead of becoming the founder of a language, a leader of men, and a great world-poet:

As Knight, Bard, Gallant, men were never dumb
In praise of him: while what he should have been,
Could be and was not the one step too mean
For him to take, we suffer at this day
Because of: Eccelin had pushed away
Its chance ere Dante could arrive and take

That step Sordello spurned, for the world's sake:
He did much, but Sordello's chance was gone.¹

The most beautiful of Browning's allusions to Dante occurs in the *One Word More*. In the *New Life* we are told how, on the anniversary of Beatrice's death, he sat drawing an angel *sopra certe tavolette*, but was interrupted by the presence of certain men, *a' quali si convenia di fare onore*. Browning cites this as an example of that deep desire of a lover's heart to do something out of the ordinary for the beloved one. Raphael the painter had written a book of sonnets for La Fornarina; so Dante the poet drew an angel for Beatrice.

Dante once prepared to paint an angel:
Whom to please? You whisper "Beatrice."
While he mused and traced it and retraced it

¹ "Yesterday I was reading the 'Purgatorio,' and the first speech of the group of which Sordello makes one struck me with a new significance as well describing the man and his purpose and fate in my own poem." (Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, vol. I, p. 346.)

(Peradventure with a pen corroded
 Still by drops of that hot ink he dipped for,
 When, his left hand i' the hair o' the wicke
 Back he held the brow and pricked its stigm
 Bit into the live man's flesh for parchment,
 Loosed him, laughed to see the writing ra
 Let the wretch go festering through Florenc
 Dante, who loved well because he hated,
 Hated wickedness that hinders loving,
 Dante standing, studying his angel,—
 In there broke the folk of his Inferno.
 Says he—"Certain people of importance"
 (Such he gave his daily, dreadful line to)
 "Entered and would seize, forsooth, the po
 Says the poet, "Then I stopped my paintin

VI.

You and I would rather see that angel,
 Painted by the tenderness of Dante,
 Would we not? than read a fresh Inferno.

VIII.

What of Rafael's sonnets, Dante's picture?
 This: no artist lives and loves, that longs n

¹ There is a similar passage in Carducci's
Giustizia di Poeta, which tells how Dante, a
dolce d' amor cantando, if he met a traitor
 or any other of that *gente di voglia niquitosa*
 with the very same hand

Che ne la vita nova angeli pinse
 Sì gli abbrancava e gli bollava in viso
 E gli gettava ne la morta gora. (Rime Nov

Once, and only once, and for one only
(Oh, the prize!) to find his love a language
Fit and fair and simple and sufficient—
Using nature that's an art to others,
Not, this one time, art that's turned his nature.

The conclusion of the poem, and the application of the above to his own love for Mrs. Browning, is very beautiful.

XVIII.

This I say of me, but think of you, Love!
This to you—yourself my moon of poets!
Ah, but that's the world's side, there's the wonder—
Thus they see you, praise you, think they know
you!

There, in turn, I stand with them and praise you!
Out of my own self, I dare to phrase it.
But the best is when I glide from out them,
Cross a step or two of dubious twilight,
Come out on the other side, the novel
Silent, silver lights and darks undreamed of,
Where I hush and bless myself with silence.

XIX.

Oh, their Rafael of the dear Madonnas,
Oh, their Dante of the dread Inferno,
Wrote one song—and in my brain I sing it,
Drew one angel—borne, see, on my bosom.¹

¹ Some profess to see in Browning's Numpho-

The admirable sympathy between Browning and his wife that shows itself in the above beautiful poem is likewise exemplified in their love for Italy and Dante. Mrs. Browning loved both with passionate devotion, though she says she loved truth and justice more than either.¹ While Robert Browning's interest in Italy manifested itself largely in the field of art and literature, Mrs. Browning's heart and mind were turned more toward the struggle for liberty in her own day, as may be seen from her *Casa Guidi Windows*,² which is a poetical essay on Italian politics in 1848. The influence of Dante is

leptus an allusion to Beatrice. I confess that, after having carefully read this poem, I have no opinion on the subject.

¹ "I love truth and justice more than Plato and Plato's country, more than Dante and Dante's country, and more even than Shakespeare and Shakespeare's country." (Preface to *Napoleon in Italy*.)

² *Casa Guidi* was the house she lived in at Florence for fourteen years, and which she only left for the grave.

easily recognizable in Mrs. Browning's works. Twice does she refer to the *Sasso di Dante*, already alluded to by Rogers and Wordsworth,—once in *The Dance*:

And they danced there till the blue that overskied

us

Swooned with passion, though the footing seemed
sedate;

And the mountains, heaving mighty hearts beside

us,

Sighed a rapture in a shadow, to dilate,
And touch the holy stone where Dante sate;

and again in *Casa Guidi Windows*—this
time in deeper and tenderer language:

O passionate

Poor Dante, who, a banished Florentine,

Didst sit austere at banquets of the great

And muse upon this far-off stone of thine,
And think how oft some passer used to wait

A moment in the golden day's decline,
With "Good-night, dearest Dante."—Well, good-
night!

I muse now, Dante, and think, verily,
Though chapelled in the byeway, out of sight,
Ravenna's bones would thrill with ecstasy,
Could'st know thy favorite stone's elected right

236 DANTE AND THE ENGLISH POETS.

As tryst-place for thy Tuscans to foresee
Their earliest chartas from.

The minuteness of Mrs. Browning's acquaintance with the Divine Comedy is shown by a stanza of A Child's Grave at Florence:

A Tuscan lily,—only white
As Dante, in abhorrence
Of red corruption, wished aright
The lilies of his Florence,

where the reference in the last two lines is to the passage in the sixteenth canto of the Paradiso,

tanto che il giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
Nè per division fatto vermiglio.¹

In A Vision of Poets, written in a simplified form of the *terza rima* (aaa, bbb, etc.), we have a repetition of the conventional subjects so often treated by

¹ The ancient arms of Florence were a white lily on a red field. After the war with Pistoja in 1251 the Guelfs made their arms a *red* lily on a white field, while the Ghibellines retained the old device.

English poets, Chaucer, Spenser, Southey, and Tennyson. The poet falls asleep; a lady meets him, and leads him away, riding on a white palfrey, whose

paces sent
No separate noises as she went;
Twas a bee's hum, a little spent.¹

She led him out of a forest to a moor with four pools (three of which represent World's Use, World's Love, and World's Cruelty), in all of which he drank. Afterward he saw a strange company of poets, Homer, Shakespeare, Vergil, and

Dante stern
And sweet, whose spirit was an urn
For wine and milk poured out in turn.²

There are many touches in this poem that suggest Dante; thus the lines,

Hearken, O Poet, whom I led
From the dark wood,

¹ Cf. *Inf.*, XVI, 3:

Simile a quel che l' arnie fanno rombo.

² Cf. Robert Browning, *One Word More*.

recall the *selva oscura*, and when the angel plays the organ, of which

the tones were mingled,

we are reminded of the lines in Purgatory, IX, 142-145.¹ So, also, the face of the angel growing brighter as he spoke—

The angel's smile grew more divine
Than mortal speaking,—ay, its shrine
Swelled fuller, like a choir-note fine,
Till the broad glory round his brow
Did vibrate with the light below—

is certainly inspired by the similar passages referring to Beatrice.²

¹ Tale imagine appunto mi rendea
Ciò ch' io udiva, qual prender si suole
Quando a cantar con organi si stea,
Chè or sì or no s' intendon le parole.

² Cf.

Ma sì se ne rise
Che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
Mia mente unita in più cose divise
(Par., X, 61-63);

also,

Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso
(*ibid.*, XVIII, 19);

A story is told by Edward Fitzgerald to the effect that, looking one day with Tennyson at two busts of Dante and Goethe in a shop-window in Regent Street, he said, "What is there wanting in Goethe which Dante had?" To which the Poet Laureate answered, "The Divine."

Tennyson's own modest estimate of himself in comparison with the Florentine poet is expressed in the Lines to Dante, written on the occasion of the poet's Centenary, 1865, at the request of the Florentines:

King, that hast reign'd six hundred years, and
grown

In power, and ever growest, since thine own

and especially,

Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto,
E gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni,
Chè passar mi convien senza costruito

(*ibid.*, XXIII, 22-24).

There is a reference to the portrait of Dante in the lines,

One forebore
Like Dante or any man as poor
In mirth, to let a smile undo
His hard-shut mouth.

Fair Florence honoring thy nativity,
 Thy Florence now the crown of Italy,
 Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
 I, wearing but the garland of a day,
 Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away.

This same sentiment was expressed fifteen years later to Canon Warburton, to whom the poet was talking of the probably short-lived duration of all modern poetical fame. "Who," said he, "will read Alfred Tennyson one hundred years hence? And look at Dante after six hundred years!"

Tennyson is said to have loved to "troll and thunder out" Italian poetry, much of which he knew by heart; and the influence of so acute a critic and so profound an admirer of the Divine Comedy as his friend Hallam must have strengthened the poet's admiration for Dante's genius. Without doubt the great Florentine was among the poets spoken of in the stanza of *In Memoriam*:

Oh bliss, when all in circle drawn
 About him, heart and ear were fed

To hear him, as he lay and read
The Tuscan poets on the lawn.

We may assume on *a priori* grounds that the consummate artist in the use of language and rhythm would find intense satisfaction in the extraordinary powers of Dante in these respects. Indeed, Tennyson's fastidiousness in the use of sounds was so great that even the musical Italian, and that, too, in the hands of Dante, does not escape his criticism. In the Memoir by his son we find the following passage: "My father expressed the view that, 'as the English language is much finer than the Italian for variety of sound, so Milton for sound is often finer than Dante. What, for example, can be more monotonous than the first lines of the Inferno with their *a's*?"

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Chè la diritta via era smarrita,

and so on.'"

The number of definite passages, however, which show evidence of influence on the part of Dante is not so large as in the case of Byron and Shelley. In the Princess we have an allusion to the oft-quoted inscription over the Gate of Hell:

How saw you not the inscription on the gate,
Let no man enter in on pain of death;

the lines in the Two Voices,

My frozen heart began to beat,
Remembering its ancient heat,

seem to be a reminiscence of

Lo gel che m' era intorno al cor ristretto,
Spirito ed acqua fèssi, (Purg., XXX, 97-8,)

and

Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma (*ibid.*, 48).

There is a very evident resemblance between Dante's discussion of Fortune¹ and the Song of Fortune in Geraint and Enid:

¹ Inf., VII, 73 ff., and line 95 of Canto XV:

Però giri fortuna la sua ruota.

Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel and lower the proud;
Turn thy wild wheel thro' sunshine, storm, and
cloud;

Thy wheel and thee we neither love nor hate.

Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel with smile or frown;
With that wild wheel we go not up or down;
Our hoard is little, but our hearts are great.

Smile and we smile, the lords of many lands;
Frown and we smile, the lords of our own hands;
For man is man and master of his fate.¹

Turn, turn thy wheel above the staring crowd;
Thy wheel and thou are shadows in the cloud;
Thy wheel and thee we neither love nor hate.

In Locksley Hall occur the well-known
lines,

Comfort? Comfort scorn'd of devils! this is true
the poet sings,
That a sorrow's crown of sorrows is remembering
happier things,

and in the Palace of Art, among the
"paintings of wise men" which the poet
hung

The royal dais round,

¹ This line evidently inspired the oft-quoted verse
of W. E. Henley:

I am the master of my fate.

was one in which

the world-worn Dante grasp'd his song,
And somewhat grimly smiled.

The four brief lines of Dante which give concisely the tragic story of Pia de' Tolomei (lines which have been expanded to a novel) are said to have suggested Mariana in the South.¹ There are several parallels in language and metaphor between Tennyson and Dante which are interesting. Thus in the Palace of Art there is a very evident imitation in the lines,

Plato the wise, and large-browed Verulam,
The first of those who know,

of Dante's designation of Aristotle as

il maestro di color che sanno, . . .

and the metaphor drawn from driving one's

. . . heel into the smoulder'd log,
That sent a blast of sparks up the flue,

¹ Yet this poem is only another version of Mariana in the Moated Grange, the suggestion of which was taken from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Arthur Hallam and Aubrey de Vere, who discuss Mariana in the South, make no mention of Dante. See *Memoir of Lord Tennyson*, I, pp. 117 and 504.

recalls the figure of Dante,

Come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi
Surgono innumerabili faville
(Par., XVIII, 100),

by means of which he describes the streaming of the soul-lights in the heaven of Jupiter.

Most striking of all these parallels, however, is that between the fine line of Tennyson,

The one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves,

and those of Dante in which the will of God,

è quel mare, al qual tutto si move
Ciò ch' ella crea e che natura face.

Par., III, 86.

While there seem at first thought to be no points of comparison between the *In Memoriam* and the *Divine Comedy*, yet the fact that each, while being the experience of the poet himself, yet seeks to represent the feelings of the whole human

race, may be due not merely to coincidence. Indeed, Tennyson himself seems to point to at least some kind of connection between the two, when he says, of his own poem: "It is rather the cry of the whole human race than mine. In the poem altogether private grief swells out into thought of and hope for the whole world. It begins with a funeral and ends in praise of a new life. A sort of Divine Comedy, cheerful at the close." Here and there we find a verbal resemblance, but not many. The very first stanza,

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
 Whom we, that cannot see thy face,
 By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
 Believing where we cannot prove,

suggests the lines in *Paradise*, II, 43:

Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede
 Non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,
 A guisa del ver primo che l' uom crede;

so the remarks on the vanity of fame,

O hollow wraith of dying fame,

is like Dante's *mondan romore*, which is naught but *un fiato di vento*.

The poem of Tennyson's which shows most strongly the influence of Dante is Ulysses. The passage in the *Inferno* is well known how Dante meets the spirit of Ulysses in the eighth Bolgia, and hears from him the strange story of his death in the western sea. Ulysses tells how, having become old, he spurned the rest natural to old age; how, fired with a desire to see new things, he prevailed on his old companions to start out on a last journey. This they do, pass the Straits of Gibraltar, sail out into the unknown waste of water, and after five months reach a high mountain, where, struck by a mighty wind, their boat sinks and all perish.¹

¹ This account of the death of Ulysses is at variance with the ancient and mediæval traditions. Tiresias foretold (*Odyssey*, XI, 134 ff.) how he was to die worn out by old age, in the midst of a happy people; yet the manner of his death was to come from the sea. In later legends this expression *εἰς ἄλός* was explained by the fact that Ulysses was

There can be no doubt that Tennyson got the main idea of his poem from Dante.

killed by a spear whose point was made of a poisoned fish-bone (sting-ray). Benoît de Sainte-Maure in his *Roman de Troie* describes how Ulysses was slain by Telegonus, his son by Circe. Dante probably invented this last voyage, finding the germ of his invention in the scattered hints as to the founding of Lisbon by Ulysses, and his visit to farthest Caledonia. The wide waste of the Western Ocean must have fascinated Dante's imagination as it did that of his contemporaries and successors. (Cf. Tasso's similar description written after the discovery of America by Columbus.) Besides the voyage of St. Brandan and other purely legendary journeys to the mysterious islands of the Atlantic, Dante had probably heard of the *folle varco* of those hardy Genoese adventurers (true forerunners of Columbus), Thedisius Aurial, Ugolinus de Vivaldo "et ejus frater cum quibusdam aliis civibus Januæ," who in 1281 "Ceperunt facere quoddam viagium quod aliquis usque nunc facere minime attemptavit. Nam armaverunt optime duas galeas, et victualibus aqua et aliis necessariis in eis impositis, miserunt eas de mense madii de versus strictum septæ, ut per mare Oceanum irent ad partes Indiæ mercimonia utilia inde deferentes. . . . Et postquam locus qui dicitur Gozora [the island of Teneriffe] transierunt, aliqua certa nova non habuimus de eis. Dominus autem eos custodiat, et sanos et incolumes reducat ad propria." See G. Grion, *I Pozzo di S. Patrizio, Propugnatore*, III, parte 1.

It is true he takes certain details of thought and language from Homer ¹ (unknown to Dante), and from Vergil ² and Horace; ³ yet the root idea is the same, that of an old man, spurning ease and rest, filled with deep thirst for knowledge, setting out in search of a new world. ⁴

While there can be no doubt of the source of the poem, the resemblances in language are not so close as one might think. The half-contemptuous reference to the "savage race,"

That hoard, and sleep, and feed,"
is paralleled in Dante:

Fatti non foste a viver come bruti.⁵

¹ *Odyssey*, XII, 206-216.

² *Æneid*, I, 198-207.

³ *Odes*, I, 7, lines 30-33; *Epistles*, I, 2, lines 17 ff.

⁴ Ulysses "was written soon after Arthur Hallam's death, and gave my feelings about the need of going forward, and braving the struggle of life, perhaps more simply than anything in *In Memoriam*." (*Memoir of Lord Tennyson*, I, p. 196.)

⁵ Cf. Horace:

Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati (Ep., I, 2);
and Shakespeare:

What is a man,
If his chief good, and market of his time,
Be but to sleep, and feed? a beast, no more
(*Hamlet*, IV, 4).

So, too, the passage,

“ O frati,” disse, “ che per cento milia
 Perigli siete giunti all’ occidente,
 A questa tanto picciola vigilia
 De’ vostri sensi, ch’ è del rimanente,
 Non vogliate negar l’ esperienza,
 Diretro al sol, del mondo senza gente,”

contains, in concise form, many of the details in Tennyson:

Little remains: but every hour is saved
 From that eternal silence, something more,
 A bringer of new things; and vile it were
 For some three suns to store and hoard myself,
 And this gray spirit yearning in desire
 To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
 Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.
 This is my son, mine own Telemachus,
 To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle—
 Well-loved of me, discerning to fulfil
 This labour, by slow prudence to make mild
 A rugged people, and thro’ soft degrees
 Subdue them to the useful and the good.
 Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
 Of common duties, decent not to fail
 In offices of tenderness, and pay
 Meet adoration to my household gods,
 When I am gone. He works his work, I mine.

There lies the port; the vessel puffs her sail:
There gloom the dark broad seas. My mariners,
Souls that have toil'd, and wrought, and thought
with me,—

That ever with a frolic welcome took
The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads—you and I are old;
Old age hath yet his honor and his toil;
Death closes all: but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.
The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks:
The long day wanes: the slow moon climbs: the
deep

Moans round with many voices. Come, my
friends,

'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down:
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.
Tho' much is taken, much abides; and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven; that which we are, we
are;

One equal temper of heroic hearts.

Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Yet while the spirit and, to some extent the language of the two poems are alike there is a difference in treatment. The Ulysses of Tennyson is an old man full of talk, musing on life and its meaning, declaring his intention of not yielding to ease. The poem is a reflective one rather than narrative or dramatic; the time occupied is but a few minutes; we have a picture of Ulysses standing, looking down on the port, where the vessel "puffs her sail," and where "gloom the dark broad seas," and then he addresses his sailors in a long speech with which the poem ends.

Dante's poem, on the other hand, is intensely dramatic. Ulysses, though close to the end of his life, is full of energy and buoyancy. He loses little time in talk; he narrates concisely yet fully all his past wanderings. His address to his followers is only nine lines long. He does not de-

scribe the ship lying at anchor, nor the "gloom of the seas"; he does not linger over his love for father, wife, or son, although the concise lines,

Nè dolcezza di figlio, nè la pietà
Del vecchio padre, nè il debito amore
Lo qual dovea Penelope far lieta,

have a more powerful effect than the eleven lines of Tennyson devoted to Telemachus. What a world of action is crowded in Dante's poem!—the departure from the island of Circe, the brief stay at home, the setting sail with few companions, the arrival at Gibraltar, the address of Ulysses, the five months' sail over the unknown ocean, the approach to the mysterious mountain, and the tragic shipwreck, all shrouded in the atmosphere of mystery and fascination with which Dante as well as his contemporaries must have looked out over the western sea.

Tennyson could not look at the ocean with the same eyes as Dante. To him

all the mystery had departed. Only the lesson remained to enforce of high-hearted endeavor, of boldly facing the unknown future.

It has long been a favorite device among poets to represent life as a vessel sailing over the sea;¹ and it may be that both Dante and Tennyson used, partly at least, the voyage of Ulysses as symbolical of that journey which for all men ends in the

¹Very numerous are the examples which could be given from the great writers, ancient and modern. The following may be taken as typical:

The bark of life puts out from port,
We hoist the mast and trim the sail;
Under the summer sky we sport,
At times we feel the wintry gale.
We know not where our lot is cast,
Our pilot, Chance, may wreck or save;
Whate'er betide, the voyage past,
All cast their anchor in the grave.

Lord Cromer (from the Greek Anthology).

A similar thought is expressed by Clough in his poem beginning:

Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.

Dante, who calls Italy *Nave senza nocchiero in gran tempesta* (Purg., VI, 77), and says of himself that he was a *legno sanza vela e sanza governo* (Conv., I, 3), declares on the authority of Cicero (De Sen.) that death è *quasi porto a noi di lunga navigazione*,

harbor of death. The same figure has likewise been used, especially by Christian poets, of that other journey, the *iter tenebricosum* of death, upon which the soul embarks on leaving the body. Thus Dante tells how the souls of the saved gather on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and are thence wafted across the great ocean by the angel-boatman to the island of Purgatory. And as Dante gave Tennyson the suggestion for his Ulysses, so the beautiful passage in Purgatory bears a certain resemblance in thought to the last poem of the English poet, who, grown old and nigh unto death, looks forward to the time when he too shall embark on his last voyage, not knowing whither his bark is to bear him, but trusting in his Celestial pilot:

e riposo. Ed è così come il buono marinaio; chè come esso appropinqua al porto cala le sue vele, e soavemente con debile conducimento entra in quello (Conv., IV, 28; cf. Inf., XXVII, 81.)

Emerson has the same thought in his *Terminus*:

It is time to be old,
To take in sail.

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning at the bar,
When I put out to sea,

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep,
Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my pilot face to face,
When I have crossed the bar.

INDEX.



INDEX.

- Achilles, Javelin of, 77
 Ackermann, *Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelley's Poetischen Werken*, 184
 Addison, 106
Adonais: see Shelley
Æneid: see Vergil
 Æschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, 193 (note)
 Africanus, 33
Age of Bronze: see Byron
 Alamanni, 45
Alberico, Vision of, 4
 Alfieri, 107, 154
Allegro, L': see Milton
 Alphonsine system of astronomy, 90 (note)
 Ampère, 119 (note)
 Ancona, d', *I Precursori di Dante*, 4
 Angelo, Michael, 65 (note), 170, 172
Anglia, 78 (note)
- Annunzio, Gabriele d', *Francesca da Rimini*, 149 (note)
 Apocalypse, 87
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 30 (note)
 Ariosto, 2, 9 (note), 32 (note), 44, 49, 62, 73, 84 (note), 114 (note), 157, 165, 170
 Aristotle, 200, 244
 Arnold, Matthew, and Dante, 199 ff.
 — *Heine's Grave*, 202
 — *Austerity of Poetry*, 202
 Austen, Jane, 146
 Azzo of Este, 226
- Baif, de, on Dante, 45 (note)
 Balzo, del, *Poesie di Mille Autori Intorno a Dante Alighieri*, 44 (note), 63 (note)

- Barlow, 122
- Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 68 (note)
- Beatrice, 13, 35, 50, 64, 93, 94, 153 (note), 154, 157, 166, 177, 182, 201, 213, 216, 231
- Beers, *English Romanticism*, 114 (note)
- Bellay, Du, 45 (note), 63 (note)
- Berni, 73
- Bettinelli, on Dante, 115 (note)
- Blackwood's Magazine*, 71
- Blake, William, illustrator of Dante, 110, 125
- Blessed Damsel*: see Rossetti
- Boccaccio, 46, 47, 50, 61, 157
- admirer of Dante, 7
- lectures on the *Divine Comedy*, 18
- influence on Chaucer, 20
- *Filostrato*, 10 (note), 33 (note)
- *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, 42, 56 (note)
- Boëthius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, 23 (note), 30 (note), 37
- Boileau, 227 (note)
- Boker, George W., *Francesca da Rimini*, 149 (note)
- Boniface VIII., 41
- Borinsky, 78 (note)
- Boswell, 80 (note), 112 (note)
- Boyd, translator of Dante, 114, 122
- Bracciolini, Poggio, *Factiæ*, 52 (note)
- Brandes, Geo., *William Shakespeare*, 72
- Brawn, Fanny, 14
- Bridge, J. F., 125
- Brink, Ten, 19, 34, 37
- Browne, Sir Thomas, 80
- Browning, Robert, 135
- influence of Dante on, 218 ff.
- love for Italy, 218
- *Old Pictures in Florence*, 219
- *Fifine at the Fair*, 219
- *Up in a Villa, Down in a City*, 219
- *The Ring and the Book*, 220
- *One Word More*, 213 ff.
- *Numpholeptus*, 223 (note)
- *Sordello*, 223 ff.

- Browning, Elizabeth
 Barrett, influenced by
 Dante, 234 ff.
 — *Casa Guidi Windows*,
 234
 — *The Dance*, 235
 — *Vision of Poetry*,
 236 ff.
 Buckingham, Henry,
 Duke of, 58
 Bunyan, John, *Pilgrim's
 Progress*, 43 (note),
 80, 112
 Buonagiunta, 227
 Burne-Jones, 125
 Burney, Miss, 146
 Burton, Richard, *An-
 atomy of Melancholy*,
 79
 Buxton-Forman, T., edi-
 tor of Keats's works,
 142 (note), 143
 Byron, 218, 204, 242
 — *Childe Harold*, 150,
 156, 161, 162
 — relations with Italy,
 150, 151
 — *Morgante Maggiore*,
 151
 — *Lament of Tasso*, 151
 — *Siege of Corinth*, 153
 — *Giaour*, 153
 — *Cain*, 153
 — *Corsair*, 153, 156
 Byron, *Prisoner of Chil-
 lon*, 154
 — *Parisina*, 154
 — love for Italian liter-
 ature, 155
 — translator of Fran-
 cesca da Rimini epi-
 sode, 159, 161
 — *Age of Bronze*, 161
 — *Don Juan*, 162 ff.
 — *Prophecy of Dante*,
 167 ff.
 — *The Dream*, 172 (note)
 Caiaphas, 53
 Cain: see Byron
 Can Grande della Scala,
 62 (note), 213
Canzoniere, 83, 196
 Capaneus, 98, 153, 193
 Caponsacchi, 220
 Carducci, 232 (note)
 — *Studi Letterari*, 17
 (note), 44 (note)
 — *L'Opera di Dante*, 128
 (note)
 Carlyle, 122, 129, 203
 (note)
 Cary, translator of Dante,
 64, 122, 134, 143, 144
 Casa Guidi Windows:
 see Browning, E. B.
 Casella, 85
 Cato, 80

Catullus, 71 (note)
 Cavalcanti, Guido, 8
 — *Sonnet to*, 114 (note),
 180, 186
 Celestine V., 41
 Cervantes, 2
Chanson de Roland, 118
 Chaucer, 14, 61, 70, 89,
 106, 136, 152, 158,
 237
 — *Troilus and Criseyde*,
 10, 27, 29, 33 (note)
 — Dante's influence on,
 16 ff.
 — and Petrarch, 20
 — and Boccaccio, 20
 — *Clerke's Tale*, 20
 (note)
 — *House of Fame*, 21,
 22, 30, 31, 33, 34 ff.
 — *Friar's Tale*, 22
 — *Gentilnesse*, 23 (note)
 — *Wyf of Bath's Tale*,
 23
 — *Legend of Good Wo-*
men, 24
 — *Monk's Tale* (Story of
 Ugolino), 24 ff.
 — *Parlement of Foules*,
 27, 31, 33
 — *Seconde Nonnes Tale*,
 28
 — *Knighes Tale*, 32, 33
 (note)

Chiabrera, 105
Childe Harold, 152, 158,
 185 (note)
 —: see also Byron
 Church, Dean, 122, 128
 (note)
 Churchyard, Thos., 46,
 47
 Cicero, 254 (note)
 — *Somnium Scipionis*, 4,
 33 (note)
 Cino da Pistoia, 17 (note)
Clerke's Tale: see Chau-
 cer
 Clough, A. H., 254 (note)
 Coleridge, 122, 124, 134
 Collins, 117
 Columbus, 170, 172, 248
 (note)
 Como, Lake, Shelley at,
 174
Comus: see Milton
Confessio Amantis: see
 Gower
 Constance, Council of
 (1414-1418), 18
 Constantine, Emperor,
 41, 48, 84
Convito, 104, 152, 180,
 184, 196, 254 (note),
 255 (note)
 Cornell University,
 Dante Collection, 126
Corsair: see Byron

- Cosmo, Umberto, on
 Dante and Tasso, 44
 (note)
 Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, 49
 (note), 106 (note)
 Craik, *History of English Literature*, 20
 (note)
 Crawford, F. Marion,
 Francesca da Rimini,
 149 (note)
 Cromer, Lord, 254 (note)
Crossing the Bar: see
 Tennyson
 Cusa, Nicolas von, 48
 (note)

 Daniel, Arnaut, 68 (note)
 72
 Dante, different forms of
 his influence on the
 English poets, 3
 — and Homer, 11
 — death of, 16
 — apparent failure, 16
 — his glory, 16
 — moral and spiritual
 influence of, 14, 15
 — knowledge of, in early
 England, 17
 — and *Piers Plowman*,
 18
 — and Chaucer, 21 ff.
 Dante and Lydgate, 42
 — and Gower, 40 ff.
 — reputation of, in Italy
 during the Renaissance,
 43 ff.
 — reputation in France,
 45 (note)
 — reputation in Elizabethan
 England, 46 ff.
 — as forerunner of Refor-
 mation, 47, 48
 — and Foxe, 48
 — and Wyatt, 49
 — and Surrey, 49, 50
 — and Sir Philip Sidney,
 50
 — and Sir John Harrington,
 51
 — and Sir David Lyndesay,
 52 ff.
 — and Sackville, 55 ff.
 — and Spenser, 58 ff.
 — and Shakespeare, 70 ff.
 — and Greene, 74 (note)
 — and Milton, 79 ff.
 — reputation in Italy
 during the seventeenth
 century, 105
 — reputation in Italy
 during the eighteenth
 century, 107
 — revival in the nine-
 teenth century, 117 ff.
 — in Germany, 118

Dante in France, 118,
119 (note)
— and Italian patriot-
ism, 119
— hostile criticism of,
123
— and Painting, 125
— and Music, 125
— personal affection for,
by English poets,
126 ff.
— in America, 126
— Society, Cambridge,
Mass., 126
— and Leigh Hunt,
144 ff.
— and Byron, 150 ff.
— and Shelley, 173 ff.
— and Ruskin, 202, 203
— and Pre-Raphaelit-
ism, 203
— and Rossetti, 203 ff.
— and Browning, 218 ff.
— and Mrs. Browning,
234 ff.
— and Tennyson, 239 ff.
Dante's Dream, picture
by Rossetti, 208
Dante in Verona: see
Rossetti
*De Casibus Virorum Il-
lustrum*: see Boccaccio
Defense of Poetry: see
Shelley

De Contemptu Mundi
see Petrarch
De Monarchia, 48, 83
Demosthenes, 171
De Vulgarai Eloquentia, 7
223
*Dictionary of National
Biography*, 49 (note)
Dido, 35
Dis, City of, 193
*Discourse on the Manner
of the Ancients*: see
Shelley
Divine Comedy, lecture
ship in Florence
(1373), 16
— Latin translation of
by Giovanni di Serravallo, 17
Dobelli, on Byron and
Dante, 152 ff.
Dods, Marcus, *The Forerunners of Dante*,
(note)
Döllinger, 119 (note)
Don Juan: see Byron
Douglas, Gavin, 6
(note)
Dowden, 174, 188
Dream, The: see Byron
Dreme, The: see Lyndsay
Drummond, Wm., 3
(note), 68 (note)

- Dryden, 106
Du Cange, 77 (note)
 Dunbar, Wm., 153 (note)
- Earthly Paradise, 13, 90,
 179
 Eccelino da Romano, 226
 Eckermann, 118 (note)
 Edmundson, 90 (note)
Elegy written in a Country Churchyard: see Gray
 Elizabethan Poets,
 Dante's Influence on,
 43 ff.
 Elze, Karl, 72 (note)
 Emerson, 255 (note)
Englische Studien, 21
 (note), 35, 150 (note)
 English Literature, composite nature of, 1
 —influence of foreign writers on, 2
 English Poets, influenced by Dante, 9
 Envy, Dante and Chaucer on, 24
Epipsychidion: see Shelley
 Eschenbach, Wolfram von, 8 (note)
Essay on Epic Poetry: see Hayley
 Euripides, 87
- Facetiæ*: see Bracciolini
Faerie Queene: see Spenser
Fall of Princes: see Lydgate
 Farinata, 153
 Fauriel, 119 (note)
 Filicaja, 105, 150
Filostrato: see Boccaccio
 Fitzgerald, Edward, 239
 Flaxman, illustrator of Dante, 116
 Foscolo, 119, 121
 Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 48
 Francesca da Rimini, 29,
 125, 141, 144, 149
 (note), 154, 156, 157,
 158, 194, 199, 212
Friar's Tale: see Chaucer
 Furnivall, 78, 81 (note)
- Garden of Prosperpina, 66
 Gardens, conventional description of, 69 (note)
 Garibaldi, 120, 206 (note)
 Garrow, Joseph, translator of *Vita Nuova*, 126
 Gaspary, *Geschichte der*

- Italienischen Litteratur*, 49 (note)
Gentilnesse: see Chaucer
 Gerhardt, Paul, 31 (note)
 Ghibellines, 225, 236 (note)
 Gibbon, 154 (note)
Giaour: see Byron
 Ginguen , 119 (note)
Giornale Dantesco, 152 (note)
Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, 44 (note), 119 (note)
 Giotto, 205 (note)
 Gladstone, W. E., 17 (note), 125, 130
 Goethe, 2, 118 (note), 227, 239
 Goldsmith, 115
 Gosse, Edward, editor of Gray, 109 (note)
 Gower, John, 30 (note)
 — parallels with Dante, 41
 — *Confessio Amantis*, 24 (note), 41
 Gray, Thomas, 117, 158
 — and Dante, 107 ff.
 — *Progress of Poetry*, 108
 — *Observations on Pseudo-Rhythm*, 108 (note)
 — *Observations on English Metre*, 108 (note)
 Gray, Thomas, *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, 108
 Greek Anthology, 25 (note)
 Greene, 72 (note)
 Grion, G., 248 (note)
 Griseldis, Patient, story of, 20
 Grosart, editor of Spenser's works, 64
 Guarini, 45
 Guelfs, 225, 236 (note)
 Guileville, Guillaume de, 37, 43 (note), 81 (note)
 Guillet, Pernette de, 3 (note)
 Guinicelli, Guido, 6 (note)
 Guiccioli, Countess, 157, 168
 Hall, Sir Charles, 225
 Hallam, Arthur, 15, 128, 240, 244 (note), 24 (note)
Hamlet, 226
 —: see Shakespeare
 Harrington, Sir John, 5
 Harvard University Lectures on Dante, 126
 Hassan, 153
 Hauvette, Dante nell

- Poesia Francese del Rinascimento*, 45 (note)
- Hayley, translation of first three cantos of the *Inferno*, 112 ff.
- *Essay on Epic Poetry*, 113, 114
- translation of Dante's Sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti, 114
- Hell, Milton's, compared with Dante's *Inferno*, 97, 98
- Helps, Sir Arthur, 203 (note)
- Henley, W. E., 243 (note)
- Henry IV.*: see Shakespeare
- Herbert, George, 203 (note)
- Homer, 2, 8 (note), 11 32 (note), 69 (note), 86, 87, 106, 127, 199, 237, 249
- Horace, 249
- Houdan, Raoul d', *Songe d'Enfer*, 4, 37
- House of Fame*: see Chaucer
- House of Life*: see Rossetti
- Hughes, Thomas, 68 (note)
- Hugo, Victor, 119 (note)
- Humboldt, on Homer, 127 (note)
- Hunt, Leigh, 123, 142, 144
- *Story of Rimini*, 123, 144 ff.
- *Stories from the Italian Poets*, 144
- Iago, 146
- Inferno*, 22, 226
- , I, 51, 67, 68 (note), 112, 127, 164, 186 (note)
- , II, 31, 33 (note), 74, 178 (note), 201
- , III, 27 (note), 32, 33, 77 (note), 102, 103, 164, 192, 220 (note)
- , V, 29 (note), 65 (note), 68 (note), 103, 141, 144, 172 (note), 205 (note), 212 (note)
- , VII, 57 (note), 66, 242 (note)
- , VIII, 52 (note), 77 (note)
- , IX, 41 (note), 103
- , X, 153
- , XIII, 24 (note), 32, 66, 77 (note)

Inferno, XIV, 8, 41
 (note), 98, 193, 242
 (note)
 —, XVII, 36 (note), 45
 (note), 66, 200, 237
 (note)
 —, XIX, 41 (note), 48,
 84 (note)
 —, XX, 67 (note)
 —, XXIV, 60, 101
 —, XXV, 100
 —, XXVI, 253
 —, XXVII, 255 (note)
 —, XXIX, 77 (note)
 —, XXXI, 77 (note),
 103
 —, XXXIII, 26 (note),
 110, 130 (note), 154
 (note), 155, 201
In Memoriam: see Ten-
 nyson
Italy, Shakespeare and,
 72

Jason, 35
Job, 71 (note), 86
Johnson, Samuel, 80,
 112, 120
Jonson, Ben, 73 (note),
 121
*Journal of Comparative
 Philology*, 49 (note)
Julius Cæsar: see Shake-
 speare

Jusserand, 18

Kastner, 50 (note)
Kingsley, 124 (note)
Kirkup, Seymour, 20,
 (note)
Knighte's Tale: see Chau-
 cer
Koch, Dr. John, 2
 (note)
König, Dante and
 Shakespeare, 70
Koeppel, E., *Dante in der
 Englischen Litteratur
 des 16. Jahrhunderts*
 46 (note), 52 (note),
 73 (note)

La Boëtie, 63 (note)
Lamartine, 32 (note)
Lamb, Charles, 127,
 131
Lament of Tasso: see
 Byron
Landor, Walter Savage
 90 (note), 123, 159
Langland, Wm., *Pier-
 Plowman*, 18, 37
Launcelot, 146, 199
Lawes, H., *Sonnet to*: see
 Milton
Legend of Good Women
 see Chaucer
Leighton, 125

- Leland, John, on Dante, 46
 Leopardi, 32 (note), 153 (note)
 Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, 124 (note)
 Longfellow, 13, 64, 77 (note), 126 (note)
 Lounsbury, 19, 21, 43 (note)
 Lowell, 56 (note), 58 ff., 59, 64, 74, 75, 82 (note), 122, 126 (note), 128, 204, 226
 Lüder, 150 (note)
Lycidas: see Milton
 Lydgate, 34, 42, 43 (note), 56 (note), 153 (note)
 Lyly, John, 72 (note)
 Lyndesay, Sir David, *The Dreme*, 52 ff., 58

 Macaulay, G. C., 24 (note)
 Macaulay, T. B., 82 (note), 122
Macbeth: see Shakespeare
 Madox Brown, 217
 Mahomet, 53
 Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla*, 49 (note)
 Mantuan, 61
 Manzoni, 119

 Margaret of Navarre, 45 (note)
 Marini, 69 (note), 105
 Marot, 61
 Masson, 81, 87, 90 (note)
Materia poetica, 7, 8
 Matilda, 179
 Mazzini, 119, 120
Measure for Measure: see Shakespeare
 Medusa, 41
 Medwin, 158
Merchant of Venice: see Shakespeare
 Metaphors, conventional, 8
 Milan, Shelley at, 173
 Milsand, 226
 Milton, 14, 48 (note), 59, 67 (note), 69 (note), 122 (note), 127, 128, 136, 158, 166, 199, 200
 — influenced by Dante, 79 ff.
 — and Italian Literature, 82
 — compared with Dante, 82 ff.
 — *Il Penseroso*, 83
 — *L'Allegro*, 83
 — *Comus*, 83
 — *Reason of Church Government*, 83, 86, 88

Milton, *Paradise Lost*,
 84, 86 ff.
 — *Lycidas*, 85
 — *Sonnet to Mr. H. Lawes*, 85
Mirror of Magistrates,
 55, 56
Monk's Tale: see Chaucer
 Montaigne, 45 (note), 63 (note)
 Monti, *Studi Critici*, 154
 Moore, Edward, 122
 Moore, Thomas, 156
Morgante Maggiore: see Byron and Pulci
 Morley, Henry, 34, 36
 Morley, John, *Life of Gladstone*, 130 (note), 132 (note)
 Morris, William, 198, 199
Muiopotmos: see Spenser
 Musset, Alfred de, 30 (note), 227

 Nash, 72
 Nencioni, 207
Nibelungenlied, 118
 Norton, 122
Notes and Queries, 66, 78 (note)
Numpholeptus: see Browning

Ode to Liberty: see Shelley
 Oelsner, H., *Dante in Frankreich*, 45 (note), 115 (note)
One Word More: see Browning
Othello: see Shakespeare
Orlando Furioso, 51
 —: see also Ariosto
 Ovid, 8 (note), 143
 Oxford, Dante at?, 17
 Oxford Movement and Dante, 125
 Ozanam, 4 (note), 119

 Painting, and Dante, 125
 Paoli, General, 120
 Papanti, *Dante Secondo la Tradizione, e i Novellatori*, 40 (note), 52 (note)
Paradise Lost: see Milton
Paradiso, I, 30 (note), 103
 —, II, 9 (note), 93, 102, 246
 —, III, 131 (note), 132 (note), 172 (note), 190, 201, 245
 —, IV, 102
 —, V, 143 (note)
 —, IX, 48

- Paradiso*, X, 238 (note)
 —, XI, 191
 —, XVI, 28 (note), 220, 236
 —, XVII, 96, 213
 —, XVIII, 103, 220 (note), 238 (note), 245
 —, XXI, 101
 —, XXII, 54 (note), 99, 212 (note)
 —, XXIII, 239
 —, XXIV, 79
 —, XXVI, 132 (note)
 —, XXVII, 85 (note), 86 (note), 99, 102, 212
 —, XXVIII, 103
 —, XXIX, 48, 86, 94
 —, XXX, 15, 212 (note)
 —, XXXIII, 28 (note), 189
 Parallels, literary, 6 ff.
 Parini, 107
Parisina: see Byron
Parlement of Foules: see Chaucer
 Parsons, Thomas William, translator, 126
 Paton, Noel, Sir, 208
 Peacock, Thomas Love, 173
 Peacock, Reginald, Bishop of St. Asaph, 49 (note)
Penseroso, Il: see Milton
- Percy Reliques*, 118
 Petrarch, 2, 9 (note), 28 (note), 46, 47, 49, 50, 61, 63 (note), 166, 170, 172, 210, 204 (note)
 — imitated by Chaucer, 20
 — *Triumphs*, 37
 — *Libri Rerum Memorandarum*, 40 (note)
 — Praise of Dante, 44
 — *De Contemptu Mundi*, 66 (note)
 Phlegethon, 36
 Pia dei Tolomei, 157, 244
 Piccarda, 131
Piers Plowman: see Langland
Pilgrim's Progress: see Bunyan
 Plato, 234 (note)
 Plumptre, Dante: *The Divina Commedia and Canzoniere*, 18 (note), 62 (note), 123, 125 (note)
 Poggio; see Bracciolini
 Politian, 59 (note), 69
 Polidori, Doctor, 204
 Pope, 106
 Pre-Raphaelite Movement, and Dante, 125, 203

Prisoner of Chillon: see

Byron

Prometheus, 171

Prometheus Unbound: see

Shelley

Prophecy of Dante: see

Byron

Propugnatore, 248 (note)

Ptolemaic system, 90,

171

Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, 151

Purgatory, 223, 226, 231 (note)

—, I, 33 (note), 54 (note)
70 (note), 102, 104,
186 (note)

—, II, 63 (note), 85 (note), 194

—, III, 131

—, V, 67 (note), 74, 104

—, VI, 77, 254 (note)

—, VII, 23 (note), 53 (note), 102, 103

—, VIII, 109, 163 (note)

—, IX, 36 (note), 102, 238

—, X, 142 (note)

—, XI, 67 (note), 131 (note), 172 (note)

—, XII, 33 (note)

—, XIV, 104

—, XV, 95, 103, 162, 185

—, XVII, 189

Purgatory, XVIII, 95

—, XIX, 100

—, XXI, 11 (note), 55

—, XXIII, 80 (note),
101

—, XXIV, 228

—, XXVI, 45 (note)

—, XXVII, 102

—, XXVIII, 91, 92, 179

—, XXIX, 58 (note)

—, XXX, 14, 59 (note),
213, 242

—, XXI, 211 (note), 212 (note)

—, XXXII, 143

—, XXXIII, 153 (note)

Puttenham, 49

Racine, 154

Rajna, 123

Rambeau, 19, 21, 34,
37

Raphael, 231

Ravenna, Shelley at, 175

— Byron at, 167

Reason of Church Government: see Milton

Renaissance, 1, 44

Reynolds, Sir Joshua,
Picture of Ugolino,
115, 125

Rhedi, 112 (note)

Richard III.: see Shakespeare

- Rimini, Story of:* see
 Hunt
Ring and Book: see
 Browning
 Rivarol, 119 (note)
 Rogers, Samuel, 133,
 134, 167, 235
Roman de la Rose, 23
 (note), 37, 69 (note)
Romania, 10 (note)
 Romanticism, 117
 Rossetti, Christina, 204
 Rossetti, Dante Gabriel,
 125
 — influence of Dante on
 his paintings, 208
 — influence of Dante on
 his poetry, 208 ff.
 — *Sonnet on Vita Nuova*,
 209
 — *Dantis Tenebræ*, 209,
 210
 — *House of Life*, 210
 — *Blessed Damozel*, 211,
 212
 — *Dante in Verona*,
 213 ff.
 Rossetti, Francesca,
 204
 Rossetti, Gabriel, 120,
 121, 203 ff.
 Rossetti, W. M., 203
 (note), 204, 208 (note)
 Rossi, 44 (note)
- Ruskin, John, 122 (note),
 129, 202, 203
 Sackville, Lord, *Induc-
 tion*, 55 ff., 76, 112
 Sackville-West, 56 (note)
 "Sad Florentine," 62
St. Brandan, Voyage of,
 4, 248 (note)
 Sainte-Maure, Benoît de,
 248 (note)
 St. Paul, 35
St. Paul, Vision of, 4
 Sannazaro, 45, 61
 Sardou, *Dante*, 149 (note)
 Sarrazin, Gabriel, 207
 (note)
Sasso di Dante, 133, 235
 Savj-Lopez, 10 (note)
 Scartazzini, 118 (note),
 123
 Schlegel, 156
 Scott, Mary Elizabeth,
 52 (note)
 Scott, Sir Walter, 123
Seconde Nonnes Tale:
 see Chaucer
 Sardini, Simone, 17 (note)
 Sarravalle, Giovanni di,
 17
 Shakespeare, 12, 32
 (note), 53 (note), 106,
 127, 213, 234 (note), 237,
 244 (note), 249 (note)

Shakespeare, *Julius*
Cæsar, 12 (note)
 — influenced by Dante,
 70 ff.
 — *Richard III.*, 70
 (note)
 — *Hamlet*, 70 (note),
 74
 — *Sonnets*, 71 ff.
 — and Italy, 72
 — *Merchant of Venice*,
 72
 — *Taming of the Shrew*,
 72
 — *Othello*, 73
 — *Measure for Measure*,
 76, 77 (note), 97 (note),
 193 (note)
 — *Troilus and Cressida*,
 77 (note)
 — *Macbeth*, 77 (note)
 — *Tempest*, 77 (note)
 — *Winter's Tale*, 77
 (note)
 — *Henry IV.*, 77 (note)
 Shelley, Mary, 183 (note)
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe,
 64, 135, 157, 158, 204,
 218, 242
 — influenced by Dante,
 173 ff.
 — *Discourse on the*
Manners of the An-
cients, 175

Shelley, Percy Bysshe,
Defense of Poetry, 175,
 182
 — *Triumph of Life*, 176,
 177
 — *Adonais*, 178
 — *Ode to Liberty*, 178
 — *Tower of Famine*,
 178
 — Translations from
 Dante, 178 ff.
 — *Epipsychidion*, 181 ff.
 — *Prometheus Unbound*,
 181, 187 ff.
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 50,
 71
Siege of Corinth: see
 Byron
 Sills, Wyatt and Dante,
 49 (note)
 Simon Magus, 53
 Sismondi, 119 (note)
 Skeat, 34
 Solerti, 89 (note)
Sommium Scipionus:
 see Cicero
Song of Solomon, 87
Songe d'Enfer: see Hou-
 dan, Raoul d'
 Sophocles, 86
Sordello: see Browning
 Southey, 135, 136, 287
 — *Commonplace Book*,
 136

- Southey, *Vision of Judgment*, 136
 Spenser, 69, 80 (note), 89, 237
 — Dante's influence on, 58 ff.
 — *Faerie Queene*, 59 ff., 65
 — *Epistle to Shepheard's Calendar*, 61
 — *Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh*, 62
 — *Visions of Bellay*, 62
 — *Visions of Petrarch*, 63 (note)
 — *Muiopotmos*, 69
 Statius, 35
 Stedman, 219
 Stephen, Leslie, 12 (note)
 Stern, Daniel, 118 (note)
Sun, New York, 12 (note)
 Surrey, 49, 50
 Swinburne, 193, 207 (note)
 Sylvester, Pope, 41, 48 (note), 84

Taming of the Shrew: see Shakespeare
 Tasso, 2, 9 (note), 32 (note), 44, 59 (note), 62, 69, 79, 86, 87, 89 (note), 114 (note), 157, 170, 172 (note), 248 (note)

Tempest, The: see Shakespeare
 Tennyson, 39 (note), 135, 199 (note), 237
 — *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, 23 (note)
 — influenced by Dante, 239 ff.
 — *In Memoriam*, 240, 245 ff.
 — *Two Voices*, 242
 — *Princess*, 242
 — *Locksley Hall*, 243
 — *Palace of Art*, 243, 244
 — *Mariana in the South*, 244
 — *Ulysses*, 247 ff.
 — *Crossing the Bar*, 256
Terza Rima, 50
 Thomas, William, on Dante, 47
 Thomson, 117
 Ticknor, Professor, lectures on Dante, 126
 Todd, editor of Spenser, 59 (note), 61, 64, 67
 — on Milton, 90
 Tower of Hunger, 24, 154
Tower of Famine: see Shelley
Triumph of Life: see Shelley

Troilus and Criseyde:
see Chaucer

Troilus and Cressida: see
Shakespeare

Tschaikowsky, 125

Tundal, Vision of, 4

Ugolino, 24, 110, 130
(note), 153, 154, 157,
158, 165, 201

Ulysses, 141

— last journey and
death, 247, 248 (note)

Ulysses: see Tennyson

Upton, 61, 64, 66

Valla, Lorenzo, 49 (note)

Vere, Aubrey de, 64
(note), 244

Vergil, 2, 4, 31 (note), 32
(note), 35, 36 (note),
50, 51, 62, 67 (note),
86, 87, 94, 106, 127,
177, 199, 200, 201,
223, 237, 249

Vernon, Lord, 122

Verona, Dante in, 213 ff.

Villon, 76 (note)

Visions of Petrarch: see
Spenser

✓ *Visions of Bellay*: see
Spenser

Vision Literature, in-
fluence on Dante, 4

Vision of Judgment: see
Southey

Vision of Poets: see E. B.
Browning

Vita Nuova, 10, 62
(note), 72, 88, 102,
103, 152, 181 ff., 196,
212 (note)

Viviani, Emilia, 182

Volkmann, Ludwig, *Ico-
nographia Dantesca*,
125 (note), 208 (note)

Voltaire, on Dante, 115
(note)

Walpole, Horace, 114

Warburton, Canon, 240

Ward, 38

Warton, Thomas, *His-
tory of English Poetry*,
42, 56, 112 ff., 115

Watts, 125

Wesley, John, 114 (note)

Wigglesworth, Michael,
Day of Doom, 53
(note)

Winter's Tale: see
Shakespeare

Witte, 123

Wood, Esther, 208 (note)

Wood of Suicides, 33
(note), 66, 177

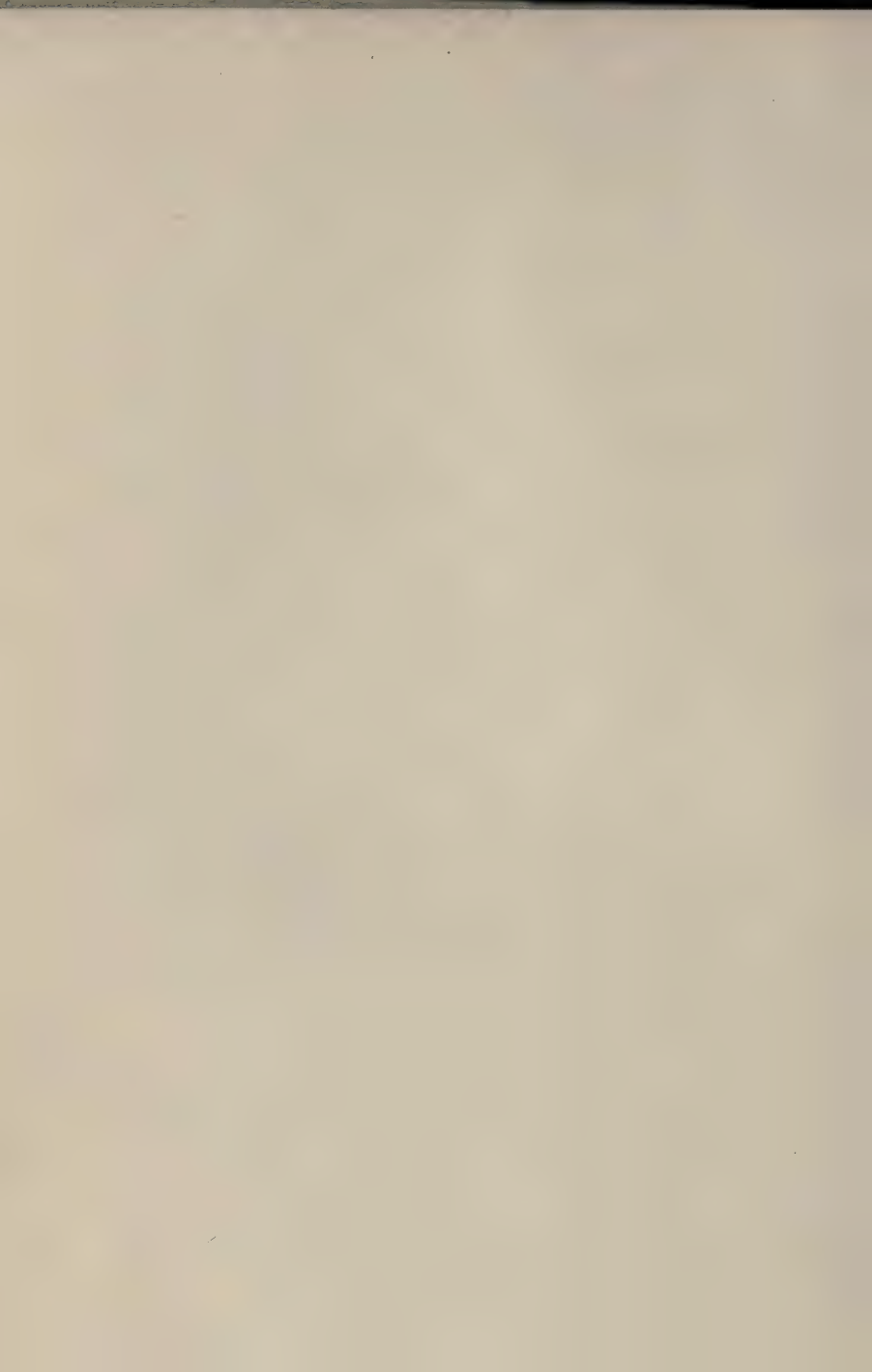
Wordsworth, 30 (note),
203 (note), 235

Wyatt, 49, 50

Wyf of Bath's Tale: see
Chaucer

Wykes, H., *Merry Tales*,
Wittie Questions, and
Quicke Answers, 52
(note)

Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, 50 (note)
— *für vergleichende Literatur*, 46 (note)



SELECTIONS FROM DANTE'S DIVINA COM- MEDIA

Chosen, translated, and annotated by
RICHARD JAMES CROSS. Original and
translation on opposite pages. Bound in
white cloth gilt, and red edges. 224 pp.
16mo. \$2.00 *net*.

"The work has been executed by both translator and publisher with a taste and skill which justify the undertaking. While discarding all the adornments which a metrical version might permit, and depending solely upon the interest and import of Dante's thought, [the translator] has at the same time succeeded in keeping much of the spirit of the poem."—*Nation*.

"This is a pretty volume to the eye. The translator's sympathy with Dante, his elective taste, and his sense of rhythm in prose make his studies in the interpretation of the great Italian poet interesting and in the main acceptable. Mr. Cross's version is smooth, lucid, and luminous."—*Boston Literary World*.

Henry Holt and Company
Publishers New York

KUHNS'S GERMAN AND SWISS SETTLEMENTS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch,

By OSCAR KUHNS, *Member of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, of the Pennsylvania-German Society, and of the Lancaster County Historical Society.* 268 pp. \$1.50.

"All that is best in their history is compressed into this little volume and even their defenders will be surprised to learn how much room there is in the story of their sufferings in the Palatinate, and how spiritual exaltation there was back of their emigration to America. The author's account of the religious faith and feeling of the German Quakers is written with great sympathy and insight, and his apology for the deep-seated conservatism of the Pennsylvania Dutch is skillfully made."—*Outlook*.

"An historical work of peculiar and capital interest. . . . A chapter in modern history, particularly in American history, which America whatever part of the country cannot afford to be ignorant of. . . . The writer has managed with extraordinary skill to infuse into his narrative the constant element of personal interest, so that the whole story is tinged and fused with the spirit of a fascinating romance."—*Chicago Evening Post*.

"Ein erschöpfendes Bild jener Einwanderung, dass sich durch seine Ruhe und Unparteilichkeit auszeichnet und einer ausführlichen Beschreibung werth ist. . . . So interessant auch die Ausführungen des Verfassers über die vielen Sekten sind, die theils sich hier niederliessen, theils nicht gebildet wurden, so können wir ihm darin nicht folgen."—*N. Y. Staats-Zeitung*.

"No more exhaustive account of the origin, emigration and subsequent history of the early German and Swiss settlers in Pennsylvania than has yet been issued. . . . The appendix concerning the change in names undergone by many Pennsylvania-German family names, the bibliography and index contribute greatly to the interest and practical importance of Mr. Kuhns's valuable monograph."—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

"It is a first-rate service to the cause of American history which Mr. Kuhns has rendered in his popular yet scholarly book. . . . An exceedingly interesting and instructive story."—*Chicago Record-Herald*.

MCCRACKAN'S RISE OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC

A History. By W. D. McCrackan. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.* x + 423 pp. 8vo. \$2.00.

"This is the most convenient and serviceable book in English on the history and development, and America has much to learn from the experience of our sister republic."—*Prof. Albert B. Hart, of Harvard*.

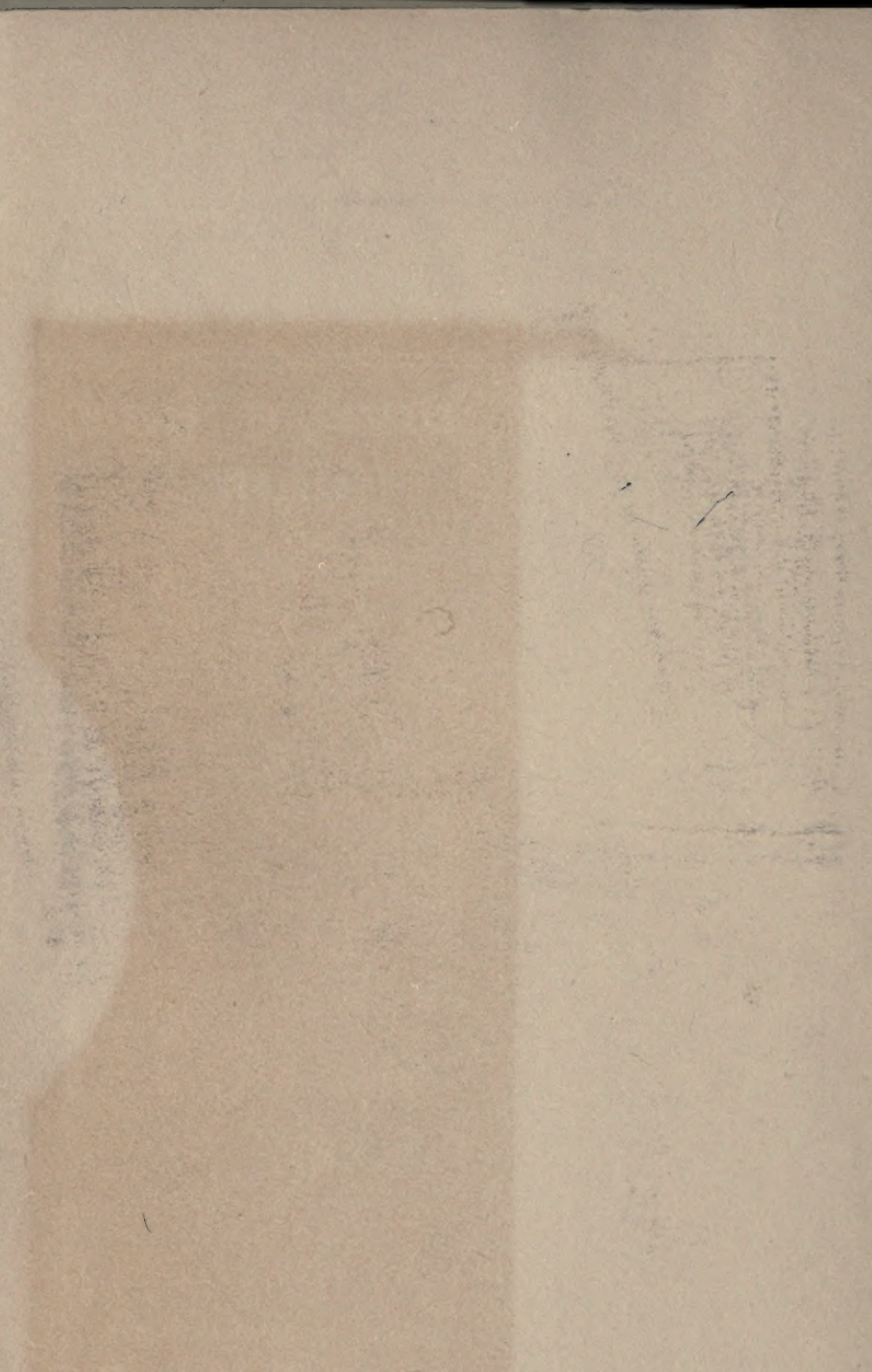
"It seems to me that you have happily blended the picturesque and the sober in the account of the rise of the Swiss Republic, a subject of great interest which some parts of Swiss history demand, with the object of pointing out the political lesson of the last thirty or fifty years. I trust this book may do much to show our people, as well as yours, how much can be learned from a study of Swiss affairs."—*The Right Hon. James M.P.*

"All things considered, this history seems to me to be far and away the best Swiss history ever yet published in English."—*English Historical Review*.

HENRY HOLT & CO.

29 West 23d St.
New York





PQ
4385
G7K8

Kuhns, Levi Oscar
Dante and the English
poets from Chaucer to
Tennyson

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
